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Washington



LIFE OF
WASHINGTON

HENLEY

JOHN W. LOVELL COMPANY



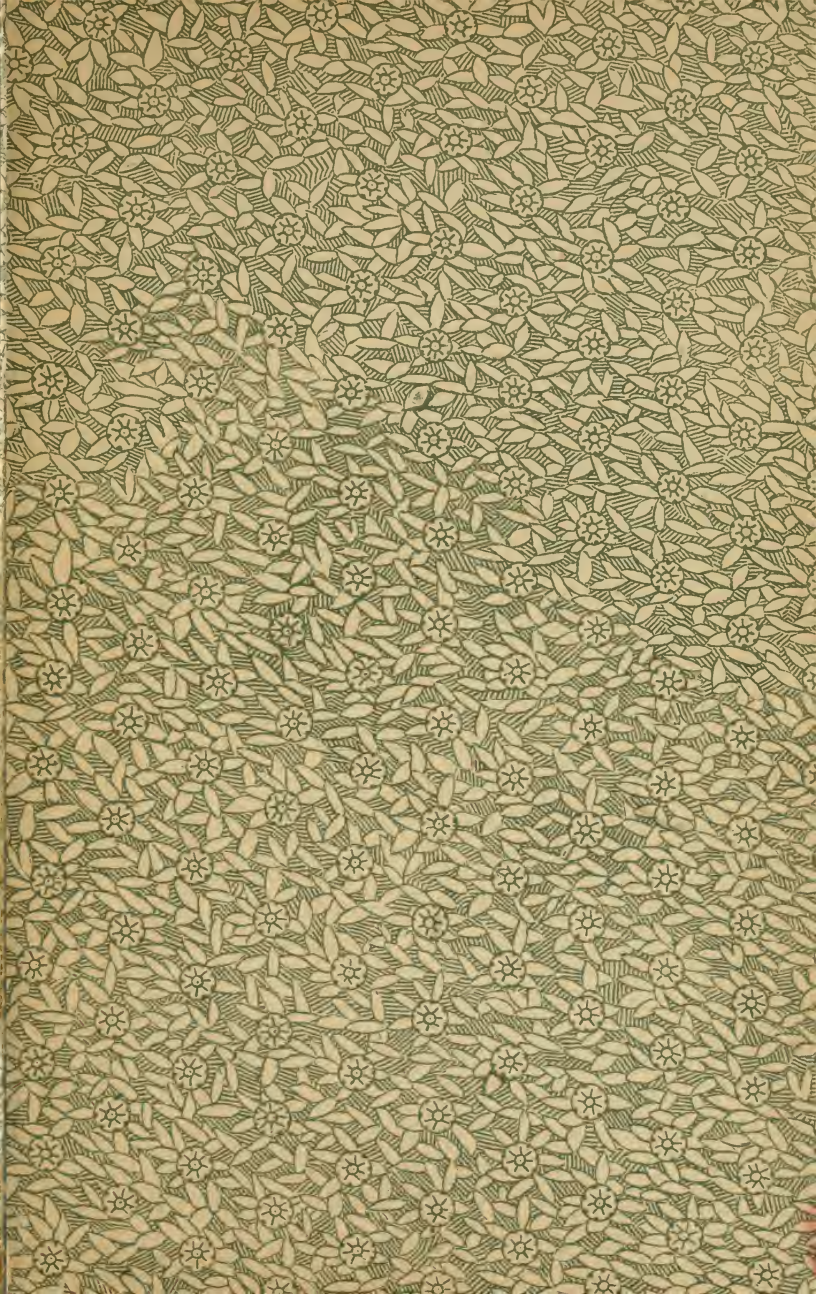
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LIFE OF WASHINGTON:

BY

LEONARD HENLEY.

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NEW YORK :
JOHN W. LOVELL COMPANY,
14 & 16 VESEY STREET,

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1882

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PREFACE.

THE writer of this little book makes no claim to originality of research. He has found most of his material in the stately volumes of Marshall, in the pictured pages of Bancroft, and in Irving's charming book, which will ever remain the standard *Life of Washington*.

To these great writers, and to Lecky, Green, Sparks, and a dozen other historians, whose works are within easy reach, he owes every fact, which he has narrated, and nearly every thought which he has expressed.

His only aim has been to write a truthful, intelligible and readable book, for those who want a short biography of the most exalted character in Modern History.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANCESTRY OF WASHINGTON.

IN 1657, two brothers, John and Andrew Washington, left their English homes, and came to Virginia to live.

The family, which had for centuries held an honorable position in the mother country, adhered loyally to Charles the First in the great Rebellion. One of them, Lieutenant Colonel James Washington, lost his life for that sovereign at the siege of Pontefract Castle: and another, Col. Sir Henry Washington, a nephew of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was one of Prince Rupert's best and bravest officers. He distinguished himself at the siege of Bristol by his gallant bearing and impetuous courage, and still more at Worcester, which important city he held for nearly three months against a largely superior force, and continued to hold it, after his ammunition had been almost completely exhausted, until the King himself issued an order for the surrender of all towns, Castles and Forts.

His reply to Fairfax, when that Parliamentary General demanded the surrender of the place, displays the character of this true gentleman and soldier:

SIR—It is acknowledged in your books, and by

report of your own quarter, that the King is in some of your armies. That granted, it may be easy for you to procure his Majesty's commands for the disposal of this garrison. *Till then* I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated, I will make the best that I can. *The worst I know and fear not*; otherwise the profession of a soldier had not been begun, or so long continued, by your Excellency's humble Servant,

HENRY WASHINGTON.

It is noteworthy here, that a century later, another Washington, and another Fairfax, kinsmen of the Parliamentary General and of the Royalist Soldier, were neighbors and friends in the New World, on the banks of the Potomac in Virginia; that this Washington married his neighbor's daughter; and that Thomas, Lord Fairfax, was the early and constant friend of another Washington, the greatest of his race.

When, at last, the honor and the valor of the Cavalier could no longer withstand the stern devotion and religious enthusiasm of the Puritan; when the gallantry and dashing courage of Prince Rupert was no longer a match for the discipline and genius of Cromwell; and when, on Marston Moor and Naseby's fatal field, the royal armies had been dispersed, and the royal cause utterly overthrown; and Charles, unwisely trusting his person to his own Scottish people, had been by them basely betrayed to the English; and by these beheaded in front of his own Palace of Whitehall; when all this had happened, and Cromwell and the Puritans had possessed themselves of England,

many of the Cavaliers, who had followed their Sovereign's fortunes to the last, and battled for him to his death, resolved to seek a refuge, and to found new homes, and re-establish their wasted fortunes in the distant colony of Virginia, which, during all the long struggle between the King and his Parliament, had remained steadfast in her allegiance to Church and State.

After Charles had been put to death, Virginia still refused to acknowledge the Commonwealth, until Cromwell sent over a powerful fleet to reduce her to obedience; and when this fleet anchored off Jamestown, in 1651, the Colonists, headed by their Governor, Sir William Berkely, still held out until, after some negotiation, a liberal and amicable compromise was made, whereby they made their submission to the Commonwealth as "*a voluntary* act, not forced or constrained upon the Country, by a Conquest." It was also agreed that, "the people of Virginia" should have all the liberties of free-born Englishmen; should entrust their business, as formerly, to their own Grand Assembly; should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England."

During the Commonwealth, the Colony took advantage of the times to establish free institutions in her midst. She claimed, and used, the right to choose, and to remove, her Governors; concentrated political power in her House of Burgesses; was the first State in the world, of any extent, to establish universal suf-

frage, a privilege which she conferred even on her freed servants; inaugurated Free Trade; and made a great advance towards Religious Freedom.

But all this time, the Virginian cavaliers never wavered in their attachment to the Stuarts. Whilst Cromwell was still the undisputed Master of England, they sent Commissioners to Charles to invite him to come and rule over his Colony, pledging themselves to support his rights with men and arms. Their constant loyalty so touched the heart of even this frivolous prince, that as a mark of his kingly favor and a token of her equality in the Realm, he quartered the arms of Virginia, by Royal Patent, on the Imperial Escutcheon, and seriously contemplated going to his *Ancient Dominion*, as he graciously styled her, there to be crowned King of England, Scotland, Ireland and Virginia. This plan was frustrated by the death of the Protector, and the resignation of his son, Richard, and the return of Charles to London, where he was crowned on the 31st of May, 1660, amidst the acclamations of the people.

Meanwhile, during the Civil Wars, and the Commonwealth, many a Cavalier and Royalist gentleman had, as already narrated, been attracted to Virginia by her devotion to the cause of their Sovereign, and her antipathy to the Puritans. Among them were the two brothers, John and Andrew Washington, who came to the Colony in 1657, and purchased lands in Westmoreland County, and established their homes on the wooded shores of the stately Potomac.

The population of Virginia at this time "may have been thirty thousand," says Bancroft. "Many of the recent comers had been Royalists, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. * * * The genial climate and transparent atmosphere delighted those who had come from the dense air of England. Every object in nature was new and wonderful. * * * The forests, majestic in their growth, and free from underwood, deserved admiration for their unrivalled magnificence; purling streams and frequent rivers, flowing between alluvial banks, quickened the soil into unwearied fertility; strange and delicate flowers grew familiarly in the fields; the woods were replenished with sweet barks and odors; the gardens matured the fruits of Europe, of which the growth was invigorated and the flavor improved by the virgin mould. Especially the birds, with their gay plumage and varied melodies, inspired delight; every traveller expressed his pleasure in listening to the mocking bird * * imitating and excelling the notes of all its rivals. The humming-bird, so brilliant in plumage, so delicate in form, and so quick in motion * * was ever admired as the smallest and the most beautiful of the feathered race. The rattlesnake, * * * the opossum, * * * the noisy frog, * * the flying squirrel, * * the myriads of pigeons * * were the subjects of the strangest tales. To the men of leisure the chase furnished a perpetual resource; * * the horse was multiplied, * * * and to improve that noble animal was early an object of pride, soon to be

avored by legislation. * * * Proverbial was the hospitality of the Virginians. * * The morasses were alive with waterfowl; the creeks abounded with oysters; * * the rivers were crowded with fish; the forests were nimble with game; the woods rustled with coveys of quails, and wild turkeys, and rang with the merry notes of singing birds; and hogs * * ran at large in troops. It was the best poor man's country in the world. Immigrants never again desired to live in England."

Of all this fair and plentiful region, none was fairer or more plentiful than the shores of the Potomac, and there John Washington lived and flourished. He was a successful planter, and quickly became a man of consideration in the Colony; a magistrate, a member of the House of Burgesses, and a Colonel of Militia, in which capacity he commanded the Virginia forces in an expedition against the Seneca Indians, who were ravaging both sides of the Potomac, and approved himself therein a good soldier and an able officer.

His estates descended, in due course of time, to his grandson, Augustine Washington, who was born upon them in 1694. This grandson was twice married; his second wife being then known as the Belle of the Northern Neck (as is called that part of Virginia which lies between the Potomac and the Rappahannock), but now, and for all time, known as *Mary the Mother of Washington*.

CHAPTER II.

HIS CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at the old homestead on the Potomac, on the 22d of February, 1732, just one hundred and fifty years ago. Not long afterwards the family moved to a farm in Stafford County, near to the town of Fredericksburg, and there it continued to reside till Augustine Washington died. This happened in 1743, when George was barely eleven years old. Augustine Washington's estates were then divided among his seven children, the lands on the Potomac being given to Lawrence and Augustine, sons of his first wife; and his other estates being divided among the children of the second wife, who was made guardian of them till they should become of age.

Lawrence Washington, the eldest son, who was fourteen years older than George, had, as was usual among the wealthier Virginia families, been educated in England; but the death of their father denied this privilege to George and his other brothers. Indeed, he received no instruction at all outside of his home; except that which he acquired at a country school taught by one of his father's tenants, the parish sexton. There he learned the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, and nothing else.

Fortunately for him, however, his brother Lawrence had, since his father's death, become a soldier, and distinguished himself as captain of a Virginia regiment, which fought in the West Indies, under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth; and had won the confidence and friendship of those fine officers, and becoming a great personage in the colony, had married Anne Fairfax, daughter of William Fairfax, an English gentleman of birth and distinction, living in Westmoreland, on the Potomac, at his splendid seat, Belvoir, which was famed far and wide for its elegant and lavish hospitality; and had built on his ancestral estates, an imposing mansion, which, in honor of his old commander, he named Mount Vernon. Thither George was sent, that he might attend a neighboring school—Williams'—which was somewhat better than that of the old sexton, Hobby, but where nothing but the commonest English studies were taught.

But George studied diligently, and learned all that he could, and learned it thoroughly. He acquired much skill in drafting papers of all kinds, and in keeping accounts, and learned the science and art of surveying, which was to be his business; and in the practice of which he acquired that knowledge of public lands, and their value, which afterwards contributed greatly to the increase of his private fortune.

He took great interest, too, and excelled, in all athletic exercises and feats of strength, and in all manly sports, and was a consummate horseman. While still

a child his imagination had been fired by his brother's exploits, and his martial tastes developed; and at Hobby's school he organized his schoolmates into military companies, and paraded, and reviewed, and fought them, and was their acknowledged commander. This right to lead and to govern was recognized as well at Williams' school, where he also became umpire and lawgiver, thus displaying in boyhood the qualities which distinguished him in manhood.

At Mount Vernon George was the constant companion of men and women of breeding and accomplishments, and of exalted virtue. His brother Lawrence was not only a thoroughly educated man, but had brought back with him from England all the refinements and culture of an English gentleman. His service in the war had won him the respect and friendship, not only of Vernon and of Wentworth, but of all his brother officers. He had become a leading personage in the colony—a member of the House of Burgesses, and adjutant-general of his district. His wife was a woman of the highest type of well-born Englishwomen.

Her father, William Fairfax, himself of noble birth, was a man of liberal education, accomplished manners, and adventurous spirit. Having entered the British army at twenty one, and having won reputation in every quarter of the globe, he had come to Virginia, to manage the princely estates of his cousin, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, and was Lawrence Washington's nearest neighbor.

Among these gentle-folk, and the other wealthy families whose mansions overlooked the lordly Potomac, and whose hospitality reached to the uttermost ends of the Virginia settlements, George acquired that stately grace and decorous courtesy of manner, which eminently became the dignity, the gravity, and the purity of his character, and which distinguished him above all the men of his time.

There, too, his military aspirations were fostered and strengthened, till at last he sought and obtained a commission in the British navy, and was about to sail; when his mother's entreaties became so urgent, that he abandoned his cherished desire, and returned to his school.

Perhaps the mother's prayers were obeyed the less reluctantly, because our hero's heart had already been captured by one of the aristocratic beauties whom he had met at Mount Vernon or Belvoir. What her name was, and what her station, we know only from tradition: for he guarded his secret with the utmost care, and it would have died with him, but for some love-sick rhymes, which he trusted to that inseparable companion and friend of his youth—his copy-book. In these amorous verses he describes her as his "Lowland Beauty;" and the old gossips say that she was a Miss Grimes, who married a Mr. Lee, and became the mother of that Light Horse Harry Lee, who figured conspicuously in the Revolution, and was afterward Governor of Virginia, and the author of that phrase which so justly describes Washington as "First in

War, First in Peace, and First in the hearts of his countrymen," and who, more than all, and above all, was the father of the great Confederate soldier, Robert Edmund Lee.

About this time, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, came to Virginia, to look after his great estates, and was staying at Belvoir, with his cousin William, the father of Mrs. Lawrence Washington. He was now nearly sixty years old, upwards of six feet high, gaunt and raw-boned, near-sighted, with light gray eyes, sharp features, and an aquiline nose. Ungainly though he might be now, he had in his younger days been a great gallant in London society. His rank, his great wealth, and his high connections, gave him entrée into the most fashionable circles of England, and he added to their prestige by his personal worth and accomplishments. He had graduated at Oxford, had served in the army, and, more than all, had contributed one or two papers to Mr. Addison's *Spectator*, which was then in great vogue. He had naturally fallen in love with a young lady of beauty and high rank. She had accepted him; the wedding-day had been fixed; the wedding-dresses had been made; everything had been provided, even the servants and equipages for the new establishment, when suddenly the lady, dazzled by the superior brightness of a ducal coronet, broke her engagement, and overwhelmed her lover with shame and despair. He abandoned society altogether, and on the instant; and shortly afterwards sought, in Virginia, distraction from his sorrow and his mortification.

Lord Fairfax's estates, derived by him through his mother, a daughter of Lord Culpepper, to whom they had been granted by Charles II., embraced all the lands lying between the Potomac and the Rappahannock, and a great part of the valley of the Shenandoah—a right royal domain!

Lord Fairfax was a staunch fox-hunter, and kept horses and hounds in the true English style, and the neighborhood was full of sport. Every Virginian in those days was a horseman, and fond of the field; but the sharp-witted old lord, near-sighted as he was, quickly saw that among them all was none so bold and skillful a horseman, nor so eager to follow the hounds, as young Washington, and straightway took him into peculiar favor, and made him his constant companion. He saw, too, that the youth was a man of sense, and honesty, and honor, and one to be trusted; and one day he asked him whether he would undertake the laborious, and difficult, and dangerous task of surveying his lands beyond the mountains, and ousting the lawless squatters, who were planting themselves along the fairest streams, and in the loveliest and most fertile valleys, and taking virtual possession of the country.

Washington, who was then just beginning his seventeenth year, eagerly accepted the employment. It was just what he wanted, the very business for which he had been diligently and carefully preparing himself; and in a very few days (March, 1748), he was on his way to the valley of the Shenandoah. He

remained there, in the almost unbroken forest, for nearly a year; when, having completed his surveys, he returned home, reaching Mount Vernon in April, 1749.

Lord Fairfax was so greatly pleased by the accounts which Washington gave him of his Western possessions, that he moved across the Blue Ridge, and took up his residence near the present town of Winchester. There he laid out a manor, containing ten thousand acres of rich lands and noble forests, and projected a spacious manor house, to which he gave the name of Greenway Court.

By his influence Washington was made a public surveyor, and within the next three years, during which he was a frequent guest at Greenway Court, he made many surveys which are still of record, and which have always been found so correct, that to this day they are received with implicit credit.

CHAPTER III.

MAJOR WASHINGTON.—THE STRUGGLE FOR THE GREAT VALLEY BEGINS.

WHILE Washington was still surveying the then fresh-clad valley of the Shenandoah, great schemes in which he was destined to act a conspicuous part, were being quietly worked out at home and abroad.

At that time both England and France laid claim to the vast region lying between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains: England on the ground that Cabot's discovery of the Atlantic coast, from Labrador to Cape Hatteras, gave her all the country west of the coast which he had explored, even to the Pacific; the French, on the much more tenable ground, that they were entitled to it by reason of the discoveries and explorations of Father Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle, who had, between 1673 and 1682, explored the Mississippi from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico, and taken formal possession for France of all the lands drained by that great river and its tributaries; that is to say, of the entire valley of the Mississippi, from the summit of the Alleghanies to the top of the Rocky Mountains. To this valley La Salle had, in honor of Louis XIV., given the name of Louisiana. After several attempts

to colonize this region, the French finally had established a colony at New Orleans, in 1722; and from this point had gradually extended their settlements up the Mississippi, and along the Ohio and Wabash, towards the great lakes, around which they had already planted themselves. They now conceived the vast and interesting plan of connecting their settlements in Louisiana with those in Canada, by a chain of forts, extending from the vicinity of Niagara to the headwaters of the Ohio, and thence along that river to the Mississippi. To these immense possessions, embracing both Canada and Louisiana, they gave the name of New France. The population of Canada was then estimated at 45,000, and that of Louisiana at 7,000.

The English had not yet attempted to make any settlement west of the Alleghanies; but their traders (chiefly from Pennsylvania) roamed through the valley of the Ohio, and were now beginning to come into contact with the French traders from Canada. The white population of the English colonies, between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, was estimated (1750) at 1,050,000; and the slaves at 220,000.

The disparity in numbers between the French and the English did not intimidate the Governor of New France from executing the plan to unite the French settlements in Canada with those on the Mississippi. On the contrary, he was satisfied that the French possessed advantages which would counterbalance the English superiority in numbers. These advantages

lay in the two circumstances, that the power of France in America was all united under one Governor; and the genius of the people and of the government being military, that the inhabitants could readily be called into the field if their services should be required. Great reliance, too, was placed on the Indians, who, with the exception of the Six Nations, were generally attached to France, and well trained to war. To all these advantages was added a perfect knowledge of the country which was to be the scene of action. Their Governors, too, most of whom had been military men, had, for several preceding years, judiciously selected and fortified such places as would give their nation most influence with the Indians, and best facilitate their own incursions into the English provinces. The command of Lake Champlain had, among other things, been acquired by erecting a strong fort at Crown Point; and a connected chain of posts was maintained from Quebec up the St. Lawrence and along the great lakes.

The British colonies, on the other hand, were divided into distinct governments, unaccustomed, except those of New England, to act in concert; were jealous of the powers of the Crown; were spread over a large extent of country; and were almost entirely unused to arms.

About the same time that the French determined to extend their posts down the Ohio (1749), several opulent and influential persons, both in England and Virginia (and among the latter, Lawrence Washing-

ton and his brother Augustine), associated themselves together under the name of "The Ohio Company," and, as such, obtained from the Crown a grant of 500,000 acres of land, lying west of the Alleghanies, and, consequently, within the disputed territory. The grant was made on condition that the Company would locate 200,000 acres at once, and settle 100 families upon their land within seven years, and build and garrison a Fort, at the Company's expense, for the protection of the settlers, and of the frontier, against the Indians and French.

The management of the affairs of this Company was soon devolved, by the death of the President, upon Lawrence Washington, whose liberal spirit and enlightened mind shone out in all its earlier operations. Among other things, Christopher Gist—a brave and hardy Virginian, experienced in woodcraft and in the ways of the Indians—was sent out with a small party to explore the lands upon the Ohio, as far as the Falls of that river (where the City of Louisville now stands), and to select the Company's lands. He traversed a great part of the present States of Ohio and Kentucky; established friendly relations with the Indians, and surveyed with a keen eye the undulating and wide-spreading plain, watered with streams and rivulets, and clad with noble forests of hickory, walnut, ash, poplar, sugar-maple and wild cherry. There were spacious fields covered with wild rye, and natural meadows, waving with blue grass and clover; and grazing upon them were herds of buffalo,

while on woodland and prairie, deer, elk, and wild turkeys abounded. Nothing was wanting but the wand of civilization to convert this smiling wilderness into the abode of millions of men.

The French had already begun to be alarmed by the increasing number of English—mostly Pennsylvanians—who were wandering through this region to trade with the Indians; and the Governor of Canada (within whose jurisdiction Louisiana lay) had, early in 1749, sent De Bienville, an intelligent officer, with 300 men, to conciliate and confirm the friendship of the Indians, and to renew the French possession of the Valley of the Ohio.

De Bienville notified the English traders to leave the country, and, through one party of them, wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania, that the French would not permit the English to intrude into this region, but would deal rigorously with any traders of that nation who should thereafter dare to enter the Valley. Shortly before Gist's appearance upon the scene, De Bienville had, in execution of this threat, captured three men and sent them to Canada.

Gist met, in these wilds, George Croghan, a shrewd, sagacious and experienced trader, who thoroughly understood the Indian character, and who, on that account, had been sent thither by the Governor of Pennsylvania to counteract the machinations of De Bienville. The two veteran pioneers prosecuted their labors together for some time—the one in the interest of Pennsylvania, and the other in that of Virginia.

Gist, having completed his explorations, returned home about the 1st of June, 1750, and reported the result of his labors and observations. This report accelerated the activity of the Ohio Company, which immediately sent him, with a party of surveyors, to locate some lands for the Company in the country lying between the Kanawha and the Ohio. It also made preparations to erect a Fort on the Ohio, just below the present city of Pittsburg, for the protection of its employees, and of settlers upon its lands.

The French lost no time in preparing to resist these encroachments, and to take military possession of the disputed territory. To effect this, they launched a war vessel of unusual size on Lake Ontario; fortified their trading post at Niagara, and extended their lines from Presqu'Isle (Erie), at the eastern extremity of Lake Erie, to the Alleghany, and thence down that river towards the Ohio.

The English Colonies now saw that if they were not willing to be hemmed in between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, they must prepare for war. Virginia was the first to move. The province was divided into Military Districts, for each of which an Adjutant-General, with the rank of Major, was appointed, to organize, and attend to the equipment of, the Militia. At the request of Lawrence Washington, George was made Adjutant of his District, though he was then but nineteen years of age—no slight proof of the maturity of his mind, and of the confidence inspired by his judicious conduct and aptness for business. With his

accustomed devotion to duty and conscientious attention to details, he at once began to prepare himself for his important duties, not only by studying Military Science, but by perfecting himself in the School of the Soldier. In these practical details he was instructed, not only by his brother Lawrence, but by two followers of that soldierly gentleman—a certain Adjutant Muse, and one Jacob Van Braam, a Dutchman by birth, a Dugald Dalgelty by nature and education, and now George Washington's Master of Fence.

His studies were, however, soon interrupted by the illness of Lawrence Washington, who, being advised by his physician to seek restoration of his health in the sunny Island of Barbadoes, went thither (September, 1751), taking George with him. There Lawrence grew better at first, and George had an opportunity to enjoy the hospitalities of the planters, and to see the sights of that tropical Island. There he went, for the first time, to a theatre, and witnessed, with a pleasure which he never forgot and which in after life he always renewed whenever he could, the acting of a play. But he was suddenly stopped in this course of amusement by a severe attack of small-pox, which left upon his features its indelible traces. When sufficiently recovered, he returned to Mount Vernon, to attend to some business, while Lawrence went to Bermuda, where his health so rapidly grew worse that he was forced to hasten home. He had hardly gotten to Mount Vernon when he died (July 26, 1752), in the 35th year of his age.

Lawrence left a widow, and an infant daughter, to inherit his ample estates—with the provision that, if the daughter should die childless, George should, after the death of her mother, too, inherit Mount Vernon and other lands. He was one of the executors of the will; and, though only twenty years old, such was the confidence of his co-executors, that the management of the estate was devolved entirely upon him. It is needless to say that it was managed with consummate ability and scrupulous fidelity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

Meanwhile, both the Ohio Company and the French had been strengthening their positions near the Ohio, by forming alliances with the Indians, and by taking possession of the coveted country—the French, through means of Military posts, and the English by actual settlement. The Ohio Company had established a trading post at Wills' Creek, (Cumberland,) just at the eastern base of the Alleghanies; and Gist had prevailed on eleven families to form, with him, a settlement farther west, near the Youghiogeny. The French had redoubled their activity, and had now pushed their Military posts forward, almost to the Fort which the Ohio Company was erecting on the Ohio. In this extremity, the Company appealed to the Governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, a grasping Scotchman, for support. He was himself a stockholder, and listened favorably to its appeal. A commissioner, Captain William Trent, was sent to expostulate with the French Commander on the Ohio, and to insist that he should withdraw his forces from the Valley of that river. Trent also took guns, powder, shot and clothing, as presents for the Indians. He was still 150 miles away from his destination, when he

heard that there had been a fight between the French and their Indian Allies, on the one side, and some tribes which were friendly to the English, on the other: that the latter had been defeated, and that the French were triumphant everywhere. Trent lost heart and returned to Williamsburg, without having accomplished anything.

Governor Dinwiddie now looked around for a person more fitted to fulfil a mission which required physical strength and moral energy, a courage to cope with savages, and a sagacity to negotiate with white men. Washington was suggested to him. True, he was only twenty-one years old; but he was already Adjutant General of his District, and familiar with the matters in controversy. His experience as a woodsman fitted him for an expedition into the wilderness; and his great discretion and self-command, for a negotiation with the wily French Commanders and fickle savages. He was accordingly chosen. He accepted the position with the utmost alacrity, in spite of the dangers and fatigues of a journey through a country almost entirely unexplored by white men, and inhabited by Indians who were either hostile to the English, or of doubtful attachment.

He commenced his journey from Williamsburg the day on which he was commissioned (October 31st, 1753), and arrived on the 14th November at Will's Creek. There he engaged guides to conduct him over the Alleghanies, the passage of which, at that season of the year, was very difficult. After sur-

mounting considerable impediments, occasioned by snow and high waters, he at last reached the Monongahela. There he learned that the French general, commanding on the Ohio, was dead, and that the greater part of his forces had gone into winter quarters. Pursuing his route, he examined the country, through which he passed, with a military eye, and, with consummate judgment, selected the spot at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Alleghany (where the French some time afterward erected Fort Duquesne, and where Pittsburgh now stands), as an advantageous and commanding position, which it was advisable to immediately seize and fortify.

After employing a few days among the Indians there, trying to fasten them to the English, and to learn the actual state of affairs on the frontier, and after procuring some of the chiefs to accompany him (whose fidelity he took the most judicious means to secure), he ascended the Alleghany River until, at the mouth of French Creek, he found the first fort occupied by French troops. Here he was delayed several days by the machinations of their commander, a rollicking, Indianized Frenchman, Captain Joncaire, the veteran intriguer of the frontier; who, when pretty well drunk, swore that "it was their absolute design to take possession of the country, and they would do it." Proceeding further up the creek to another fort, Washington was received by the Chevalier Legardeur de St. Pierre, the commanding officer of the French forces on the Ohio, and delivered to him the

letter of Governor Dinwiddie. On the evening of December 14th, 1753, the Chevalier de St. Pierre delivered to him a sealed reply to Governor Dinwiddie's letter, and on the 16th Washington started homewards. He reached Williamsburgh on the 16th February 1754, after undergoing infinite fatigue on the route, and incurring considerable danger from the hostile Indians by whom it was infested.

The exertions made by Major Washington on this occasion, the perseverance with which he surmounted the difficulties of the journey, and the judgment displayed in his conduct towards the Indians, raised him in the public opinion, as well as in that of the Governor, Dinwiddie. His journal, drawn up for the information of that official, was soon published, and was generally considered as strongly evidencing the solidity of his understanding and the fortitude of his mind. From that hour he was the rising hope of Virginia.

CHAPTER V.

LT. COL. WASHINGTON BEGINS THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

As the answer of the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio indicated, no disposition to withdraw from that country, Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie thought it necessary to make preparations to maintain the right asserted over it by the British Crown.

Captain Trent was accordingly dispatched with all speed to the frontier, with instructions to raise a company of 100 men, and to march forthwith to the Ohio, and finish, as soon as possible the fort, which the Ohio company had already commenced there.

Washington was empowered to raise a like force at Alexandria; to procure and forward munitions and supplies for the fort, and then to proceed thither with his company and assume command.

The House of Burgesses having meanwhile met, authorized the Governor, with the advice of the Council, to raise a regiment of 300 men, and appropriated £10,000 for the expedition.

The command of this regiment was offered to Major Washington; but he modestly declined to accept it, on the ground that it was a "charge too great for

his inexperience and youth to be entrusted with." It was, therefore, given to Colonel Joshua Fry, an English gentleman, and Washington was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel.

On the 2d of April 1754, he set off from Alexandria for the scene of operations, taking with him two companies, aggregating 150 men. Before reaching Will's Creek he learned that Captain Trent's company had been captured while working upon the fort. This proved to be true. He met them at Will's Creek. From them Washington learned that the French had suddenly appeared before the unfinished fort with a thousand men, furnished with artillery; that Captain Trent and his Lieutenant were both absent, and that resistance being out of the question, the men had surrendered upon condition that they might retire to the English settlement, taking their tools with them.

Washington was now in the utmost perplexity. He found himself with a handful of raw recruits, far from support, in the midst of a wilderness, and in presence of an enemy, not only greatly superior in numbers and discipline, but well provided with artillery and munitions of war, and within reach of constant supplies and reinforcements. He was well advised, too, that another army was already ascending the Ohio, and that 600 Indians were about to join the force in front of him. Still, notwithstanding the accumulating dangers, it would not do to fall back, nor to show signs of apprehension; for in that case

his Indian allies would desert him, and his own troops lose confidence. He called a council of war, which decided upon an advance to the Ohio company's store-house, at the mouth of Redstone Creek, where they would fortify themselves and await reenforcements.

Sixty men were accordingly sent forward to open a road, and Washington wrote to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, to apprise them of his situation, and asking for reenforcements and supplies.

Washington himself set out for the front on the 29th of April, and found the working detail progressing slowly over Savage Mountain, and through the forest beyond it, which has since acquired the sinister name of "The Shades of Death." On the 9th of May they had advanced but twenty miles.

Every day, traders, retreating from before the French, came into the Camp, and from them Washington learned that the French had occupied in force the very spot which he had himself selected for a Fort, and were themselves constructing one there, to which they had given the name of Du Quesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada ; that they were successfully winning over the Indians to their side, and preparing to advance against the English Colonists.

He had, meanwhile, reached the Youghiogeny, a tributary of the Monongahela. Here he received a message from an Indian Chief, (whose friendship he had won when on his first expedition to the Ohio,) to

the effect that he was on his way to meet him, at the head of fifty warriors. A few days later (23d of June), his scouts reported that the French, 800 strong, were advancing, and had detached a part of their number on a secret expedition. He hastened to take position at a place called the Great Meadows, and began to entrench.

On the night of the 25th, hearing that his Indian Allies were about six miles away, Washington set out, with forty men, to join them, determined to fall upon the enemy's detachment, which was known to be in the neighborhood. He reached the Indian encampment at daybreak; and, accompanied by the Chief and a few of his warriors, set out, with his own forty men, in search of the enemy. His Indians soon found their tracks, and, following them up like hounds, traced them to their camp in the woods. Advancing, with the white men on his right, and the Indians on his left, Washington was upon the French before they knew it. But, quickly springing to arms, these resisted bravely for a quarter of an hour, when, having lost several of their number, they gave way. They were soon overtaken, however, and all of them captured but one, who carried the news to Fort Du Quesne. Ten of the French had fallen in the fight, and one had been wounded. Among the killed was the officer in command of the detachment, a young soldier of much merit and popularity, named de Jumonville. The prisoners, of whom there were twenty-one, would have been massacred by the Indians

had not Washington prevented it. His loss was one killed and three wounded. The prisoners were immediately sent, under a strong guard, to Winchester, where Governor Dinwiddie was at that time.

Washington, knowing that the main French Army, estimated at nearly 1,000 men, exclusive of their Indian Allies, would soon be upon him, began forthwith to strengthen his defences at the Great Meadows, and at the same time sent an urgent request for reinforcements, to Colonel Fry, who was encamped at Wills' Creek. To Governor Dinwiddie he wrote :

"I shall expect every hour to be attacked, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand, if there are five to one; for I fear the consequence will be that we shall lose the Indians, if we suffer ourselves to be driven back. Your Honor may depend I will not be surprised, let them come at what hour they will, and this is as much as I can promise; but my best endeavors shall not be wanting to effect more. I doubt not you will hear I am beaten, but you will hear at the same time that we have done our duty in fighting as long as there is a shadow of hope."

About this time, Colonel Fry died, and the command of the Regiment devolved on Washington. The Expedition was at the same time placed under command of Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, a veteran soldier, who had reached Winchester with 350 troops from that State. But neither he nor his men took any part in the campaign.

The rest of Washington's Regiment was now

brought forward from Cumberland, increasing his force to 300 men. With it, came the Surgeon of the Regiment, Dr. Craik, a Scotchman by birth, and destined to become Washington's faithful and confidential friend throughout the remainder of his life.

Shortly afterwards, an Independent Company of South Carolinians, 100 strong, came into Camp, under command of Captain Mackay. As he bore the King's Commission, while Washington's was bestowed by Virginia, Captain Mackay refused to obey the commands of Colonel Washington.

On the 11th of June, Washington resumed his march across the mountains, leaving Captain Mackay and his Company, as a guard, at Fort Necessity. He had proceeded only thirteen miles, when he learned, from some friendly Indians, that the French, as numerous as the pigeons in the woods, were advancing upon him. Sending back for Captain Mackay's Company, he prepared to give battle. But, reflecting that his men were ill-armed, that they had been without bread for six days, and had but a very small supply of meat, and that his position was untenable, he called a council of war; and, in pursuance of its advice, fell back to Fort Necessity, and began a ditch around the stockade. At this critical juncture, he was deserted by his Indian Allies.

Early on the morning of the 3d of July, while he and his men were working on the Fort, the French, estimated at 1,500 men, appeared, and commenced a furious attack, which was received with much intre-

pidity. The action continued till dark, when the French officer, De Villiers, proposed terms of capitulation; and, in the course of the night, articles were signed, by which the Fort was surrendered, on condition that its garrison should be allowed the honors of war; and permitted to retain their arms and baggage, and to march, without molestation, to the inhabited parts of Virginia.

In this affair, the Virginians, out of 305 officers and men, lost twelve killed and forty-three wounded. The loss of the South Carolina Company is unknown. The loss of the French and Indians is supposed to have been much greater.

Having taken his men to Wills' Creek, Washington proceeded to Williamsburg, with Captain Mackay, to make his Report to the Governor. Great credit was given to Colonel Washington by his countrymen for the courage and good sense which he displayed throughout the expedition; and the House of Burgesses voted their thanks to him and the officers under his command, and gave 300 pistoles to be distributed, as a reward, for their bravery and good conduct, to the men who participated in the defense of Fort Necessity.

Early in August, Washington rejoined his Regiment, at Alexandria, whither it had been ordered. But shortly afterwards, Governor Dinwiddie, in order to put an end to the dispute which had arisen as to the rank of officers bearing the King's Commission, when serving with Provincial officers, and the right which

the King's officers claimed to command Provincial officers of every grade, broke up Washington's Regiment into Independent Companies. In the course of the winter, orders were also received from England, which directed, not only that all officers commissioned by the King, or by his General in North America, should take rank over all officers commissioned by Governors of the respective Provinces, but that General and Field officers, of the Provincial troops, should have no rank when serving with General and Field officers commissioned by the Crown.

Colonel Washington possessed too entirely the proud and punctilious feelings of a soldier, to submit to a degradation so humiliating as this; and, therefore, while professing his unabated inclination to continue in the service, if permitted to do so without a sacrifice too great to be made, he refused, indignantly, to hold a commission on such dishonoring terms, and retired from the Army.

His first care was to visit his mother, and to provide for her welfare and that of his brothers and sisters. This being done, he took up his residence at Mount Vernon, and devoted his attention to the duties of private life.

CHAPTER VI.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

LITTLE as he himself knew it, Washington had kindled, in the Virginia Wilderness, a flame which set all Europe ablaze; for the death-blow given to De Jumonville was the first blow struck in that great war, known in American History as *the French and Indian War*, and in European History as *The Seven Years' War*—a war in which England and Prussia fought on the one side, and France, Spain, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Poland on the other a war in which Frederick the Great laid the foundations of the German Empire of to-day; a war which lost to France every foot of her boundless American possessions; a war in which Olive began the construction of that mighty Indian Empire, whereof the Queen of England is now the Empress; a war which prepared the way for the independence of the United States of America.

The English Government, aroused, by the events on the Ohio, to the necessity of defending its possessions in that quarter, and considering those events as the commencement of war, instructed the Governors of the respective Colonies to repel force by force, and to

take effectual measures to dislodge the French from their posts on the Ohio. It also recommended to them *Union*, for their mutual protection and defence, and urged them to secure the friendship of the Six Nations.

But the impossibility of uniting the Colonies in any plan of action becoming apparent, the English Government determined to carry on the war with British troops, aided by such reinforcements as the several Colonies would voluntarily afford; and in 1755 General Edward Braddock, a veteran officer, was sent to America, with a respectable body of troops destined for this service.

One of the first measures which he adopted was a convention of the several Governors, for the purpose of settling the plan of Military operations. This Council was held in Alexandria, Va., in April 1755, and three Expeditions were there agreed upon.

The first was against Fort Du Quesne, and was to be undertaken by General Braddock in person, with the British troops, and such reinforcements as Virginia and Maryland could furnish.

The second was against Niagara and Fort Frontenac. It was to consist of American Regulars, to be commanded by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts.

The third was against Crown Point, and was to be executed by Colonial troops from New England and New York, and to be commanded by Major General William Johnson.

Braddock had, meanwhile, landed his troops at Alex-

andria. They consisted of two British Regiments of 500 men each; one commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the other by Colonel Dunbar. These Regiments were to be augmented to 700 men each by picked men, who were to be enlisted in Virginia. Besides these, there was a train of artillery, and a detachment of thirty seamen under command of a Midshipman and a Lieutenant; and also two Companies of Pioneers, six of Rangers, and one troop of Light Horse.

It having been reported to General Braddock, soon after his arrival, that Colonel Washington would be pleased to take part in the Campaign, he, having been informed of the Colonel's merit, of his knowledge of the Country which was to be the theatre of action, and of his motives for retiring from the service, invited him to enter his Military family as a Volunteer Aide-de-Camp. This invitation Washington instantly accepted, despite his mother's entreaties, and repaired at once to the General's Headquarters. There he was courteously received by Braddock, who expressed, in flattering terms, the impression he had received of his merits, and was cordially welcomed by the General's Aides, Captains Orme and Morris. He was also presented to the Colonial Governors—Shirley, of Massachusetts; Delancey, of New York; Morris, of Pennsylvania; and Sharpe, of Maryland—who, with Dinwiddie, of Virginia, had been summoned to Alexandria by Braddock, as has been already narrated. This was done in a manner which showed that his merits were justly appreciated.

Braddock now set out for Wills' Creek (Cumberland), and on the 19th of May his Army was concentrated there. So great, however, were the difficulties of obtaining wagons and other necessary supplies for the Expedition, that the troops could not be put in motion till the middle of June.

While at Cumberland, Washington again met his friend, Dr. Craik, and became acquainted with Captain Horatio Gates, of whom we shall hear much hereafter, and also with Dr. Hugh Mercer, a Scotchman about thirty-three years of age, who had been a Surgeon in the forces of the Pretender, at Culloden, and who, having escaped to Virginia, was now serving under the standard of the House of Hanover, against which he had so lately fought.

Here, too, Washington, for the first time, saw an army encamped in strict conformity to Regulations, and military discipline enforced with all the precision of a martinet. In these exercises the Virginians cut but a sorry figure, according to the journal of Captain Orme, who comments upon their "languid, spiritless and unsoldier-like appearance, which, with the lowness and ignorance of most of their officers, gave little hopes of their future good behavior." How little did he understand them!

During the halt at Cumberland, Washington was sent down to Williamsburg, to bring on £4,000 for the Military Chest. He returned, after an absence of eight days, escorted by eight men, "which eight men," he writes, "were two days assembling; but, I believe,

would not have been more than as many seconds *dispersing*, if I had been attacked."

At length, through the characteristic promptness and unwearied exertions of Benjamin Franklin, Postmaster-General of America, transportation was provided; and Braddock set off from Cumberland, with his Staff, and troop of Light Horse, to overtake his advance, which had marched six days before under Sir Peter Halket.

On the third day of the march, Washington was seized with a raging fever, which absolutely disabled him from riding on horseback. Persisting, however, in his refusal to remain behind the troops, he was conveyed with them in a covered wagon. General Braddock, who found the difficulties of the march, arising from the badness of the roads and his long train of wagons, infinitely greater than had been expected, began privately to consult him respecting the measures which it would be most proper to pursue. Thus called upon, Washington gave his counsel with becoming modesty, but with his accustomed clearness. He urged Braddock to leave his heavy artillery and baggage with the rear guard; and, with a chosen body of troops and some light artillery and stores of absolute and immediate necessity, himself to press forward to Fort Du Quesne, before it could be reinforced.

His advice was adopted. Twelve hundred picked men, with ten field pieces, constituted the advance, under the command of Braddock in person. They

were to take with them only such wagons as the train would absolutely require, and to carry their provisions and necessary baggage on pack-horses. They set out immediately (19th of June); but, "instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting," says Washington, "to level every mole-hill, and to erect bridges over every brook." They were thus four days in reaching the Youghiogeny—only nineteen miles. At that place, Washington became so ill that he was peremptorily ordered to remain behind; Braddock giving him his word of honor that he should, at all events, be enabled to rejoin the advance, before it reached Fort Du Quesne.

Though too ill to ride on horseback, he rejoined Braddock on the 8th of July, when the army was within twelve miles of Fort Du Quesne. He was warmly received by all; and, though still very weak, immediately entered on the duties of his station. The attack on the Fort was to be made the next day. The Country had been reconnoitred, and the plan of attack determined upon. The advance was to consist of Regulars under Lieutenant Colonel Gage. Washington suggested that the Virginia Rangers, who were accustomed to the Country and to the Indian mode of warfare, should be sent forward instead. This suggestion was angrily rebuked by Braddock, who was indignant that a young provincial officer should presume to instruct a veteran like himself.

Early on the morning of the 9th of July, the army began to march, in the greatest order, with bayonets

fixed, colors flying, drums beating and fifes playing.

Washington, with his keen and youthful relish for military affairs, was delighted with their perfect order and equipment, so different from the rough fighters to which he had been accustomed, and often, in after life, used to speak of the effect upon him of the first sight of a well-disciplined European army marching, in high confidence and bright array, to battle.

Within about seven miles of Fort Du Quesne, as the advance, immediately after crossing the Monongahela, in an open wood thick set with high grass, was pressing forward, entirely unapprehensive of danger, it was suddenly attacked by an invisible enemy, and thrown into some confusion. But the General having brought up the main body, and the attack of the enemy having been suspended for the moment by the death of their commanding officer, order was restored. The enemy's attack, however, was soon renewed with increased fury, and the English were thrown into utter confusion.

Braddock possessed courage in an eminent degree, but he was without experience in that species of war in which he was engaged, and seems not to have been endowed with that fertility of genius which adapts itself to the existing state of things, and invents expedients fitted to the emergency. In the present crisis, he was unfortunate in the choice of his measures. Neither advancing on the enemy nor retreating; he exerted his utmost powers to form his broken troops, under an incessant and galling fire, on the very ground

where they were first attacked. In his fruitless efforts to restore order, every mounted officer, but Washington, was either killed or wounded. Two horses had been shot under him and four bullets had passed through his coat. His escape without a wound was almost miraculous. Sir Peter Halket had been shot down at the head of his regiment. Braddock still remained in the centre of the field, in the desperate hope of retrieving the fortunes of the day. The Virginia Rangers, who had been most efficient in covering his position, were nearly all killed or wounded. His Secretary, Shirley, had fallen by his side. Many of his officers had been slain within his sight, and most of his guard of Virginia Light Horse. Five horses had been killed under him. At length, a bullet passed through his right arm, and lodged in his lungs. As he was falling from his horse, he was caught by Captain Stewart, and borne from the field, but with difficulty; for, in his despair, he desired to be left there. The rout now became complete. The troops gave way in every direction. Every effort to rally them was ineffectual, until they had crossed the Monongahela, when, being no longer pursued by the enemy who had been stopped by the plunder, they halted, and were again formed, but soon resumed their flight.

Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six had been killed and thirty-seven wounded. Of the men, upwards of seven hundred had been either killed or wounded. The Virginians had suffered the most: of one company only one man was left; another company lost every com-

missioned and non-commissioned officer, and most of its men.

Braddock, deserted by his own troops, was borne from the field, along with his wounded aides, by Captain Stewart and the remnant of the Virginians. On the 11th of July they reached Dunbar's camp, forty miles distant. That officer had been completely panic-stricken by the fugitives; and, by his orders, all the ammunition, stores, and artillery had been destroyed. The whole army now began a disorderly retreat. On the 13th of July, they reached the Great Meadows, the scene of Washington's defeat, in the previous year. There Braddock died that night; and there he was buried the next morning before break of day, and "without a drum or a funeral note." "Whatever may have been his faults and errors, he had expiated them by the hardest lot that can befall a soldier—an unhonored grave, in a strange land; a memory clouded by misfortune; and a name forever coupled with defeat."

Dunbar continued his flight. When he reached Cumberland, his forces amounted to 1,500 effective men, enough to protect the frontier, and to recover the lost honor of the army; but he paused only long enough to dispose of his sick and wounded, and hurried on his flight through the country, "not thinking himself safe, as was sneeringly intimated, till he reached Philadelphia, whose inhabitants could protect him."

The great disgrace of this memorable defeat was

not known till some time afterwards; when it was learned that Braddock's fine army had been routed by a mere detachment of the enemy, sent out to impede its advance—855 men all told, of whom only seventy-two were French soldiers, and 146 Canadians, the rest being Indians, while the whole number of their killed and wounded did not exceed seventy. It has been, not very unjustly, characterized as “the most extraordinary victory ever obtained, and the farthest flight ever made.”

The expeditions against Niagara and Crown Point also failed to accomplish the purposes for which they were planned; and the only gleam of victory which shone upon the British arms in the campaign of 1755, was the lurid glare which was cast upon them by the brutal victory over the poor Acadians.

Acadia, the oldest French colony in North America, had been ceded to England in 1713, but the French still constituted nearly three-fourths of its inhabitants. The English, pretending to fear that these French might give them trouble in the impending war sent a force thither, took possession of the entire peninsula and, with circumstances of atrocious barbarity, drove 7,000 of them—men, women, and children—on ship-board, and scattered them among the English colonies, from Maine to Georgia. There they were cast ashore, not only penniless and helpless, but in broken households. To prevent their return, their villages and farms were laid waste; their houses burned to the ground; their horses and cattle seized

and carried off as spoils of war ; and their beautiful and fertile farms reduced to a wilderness. In the course of time forest trees choked up their orchards ; the ocean broke over their neglected dykes, and desolated their meadows. " Relentless misfortune pursued them, wherever they went. The annals of the human race," says Bancroft, " keep no record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia."

CHAPTER VII.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE VIRGINIA FORCES.

WASHINGTON arrived at Mount Vernon on the 26th of July, still enfeebled by his long illness ; but the martial spirit burned him as hotly as ever. His connection with the army had ceased at the death of Braddock, but he was still Adjutant-General of the Northern Division of the Province, and as such he immediately issued orders for the militia to be gotten in readiness to protect the frontier, which Dunbar's shameless flight had left utterly exposed to the ravages of the Indians. The General Assembly met at Williamsburgh on the 4th of August to devise measures for the public safety. £40,000 were promptly voted, and a Regiment of 1,000 men was ordered to be raised.

Washington's friends urged him to ask for the command of the Regiment. With mingled modesty and pride, he declined to do so. But Virginia had already learned to look upon him as the pride and ornament of her Military department. His conduct in Braddock's ill-fated expedition was universally extolled, and the common opinion of his countrymen was that had his advice been pursued the destruc-

tion of the day had been avoided. He was in fact the instinctive choice of every one for the command, except a set, of which Governor Dinwiddie was the centre, which was urging the appointment of Colonel Innes for the command of the new Regiment. There was one other, his mother, who begged him not to again risk his life in these frontier wars. To her he wrote :

“ If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again, I shall ; but if the command is pressed upon me by the general voice of the Country, and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonor upon me to refuse it ; and that, I am sure, must, and ought to, give you greater uneasiness than my going in an honorable command ? ”

Yielding to the general desire, Governor Dinwiddie, August 14th, 1755, reluctantly offered the Command of the Regiment to Washington, who was also designated in his commission as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised, in the colony of Virginia. To this honorable manifestation of the public confidence was added the uncommon privilege of naming his own field officers. He cheerfully accepted the appointment, and entered upon his duties. Having made all necessary arrangements for the recruiting service, he proceeded in person to visit the posts, and organize the remaining troops of Virginia, who were at the time dispersed in small detachments over an extensive frontier. His Head-Quarters were established at Winchester, then an insignificant

settlement, on the extreme verge of civilization, but convenient, not only with reference to the protection of the frontier settlements of Virginia, but for communication with the important Colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina.

Here Washington was brought into frequent and cordial intercourse with his old friend, Lord Fairfax, whose Manor of Greenway Court lay within a few miles of Winchester. The old soldier had again taken up his sword, had enlisted a troop of Cavalry, and was as quick to mount his war-steed as he had, when last we saw him, been ready to spring into the saddle and follow the hounds.

His services were soon put in requisition. Washington having made all the arrangements which were possible for the defence of the frontier, had set out for Williamsburgh, where objects of the greatest importance required his attention. He was not only desirous of arranging, with the Lieutenant-Governor, the plan of future operations, but he also wished to impress upon him, and on the leading men of the Colony, the vast importance of devising proper means to retain the few Indians not already detached from the interest of the English by the French; and the necessity for a more effectual Militia law, and an act to establish a complete system of Martial law among the troops in the regular service. While on the way he was overtaken by a courier from Colonel Stevens, commanding at Cumberland, with intelligence that a large number of French and Indians divided, as was

then their custom, into several parties, had crossed the mountains, and were ravaging the valley of the Shenandoah, murdering and capturing men, women and children, burning their houses, and destroying their crops. Washington hastened back to Winchester, which had been thrown into the utmost confusion and alarm. Old Lord Fairfax had assumed command and called out the Militia of the neighboring counties. The whole country beyond Winchester was said to be at the mercy of the savages; they had shut up the troops in their forts, and were advancing upon the town with fire, tomahawk and scalping-knife. The country people were flocking into the town for protection. All who could were flying with their families beyond the Blue Ridge.

In the height of the confusion Washington rode into the town. His presence inspired some degree of confidence; but his utmost efforts to raise the militia, that he might lead them against the enemy, were unavailing. They would not leave their families to be butchered by savages. Couriers were sent off to hurry up the militia ordered out by Lord Fairfax; scouts to ascertain precisely the number of the foe, and to convey assurance of succor to the troops who had been fastened up in their forts; and arms and munitions were gotten ready. But the Indians recrossed the mountains as suddenly as they had come, and Washington was given time to organize his command, to dispose them for the protection of the frontier, and to provide supplies for them, and to discipline them.

Through his great and persevering efforts, an act was passed by the Virginia Assembly, giving prompt operation to Courts-Martial, punishing insubordination, mutiny and desertion with adequate severity, and increasing the powers of the Commander. This being accomplished, he proceeded to perfect the discipline of his camp. His officers and men were instructed, not only in the school of the soldier, but in Indian warfare. Forts were erected and roads made.

He would have established his headquarters at Cumberland, but was prevented by the pretensions of a Captain Dagworthy of Maryland, who, being at Cumberland with a company of thirty men, claimed the right to command that post over Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens of Washington's Regiment, on the ground that he himself bore the King's Commission; and on the same ground, he contested the right of Colonel Washington to command. The latter, therefore, remained at Winchester. The question of rank disturbed the whole army to such a degree that it was determined to refer it to Major-General Shirley, who, upon the death of Braddock, had succeeded to the command of the King's forces in the Colonies.

As it was thought desirable that Colonel Washington should confer in person with the Commander-in-Chief as to the approaching Campaign (1756), he resolved to repair to the Head-Quarters of that officer at Boston, for that purpose, and to obtain at the same time his decision of the question as to rank, and some

general regulation by which such difficulties could be prevented in future.

Accordingly, on the 4th of February 1756, he set out, leaving Colonel Stevens in command of the troops. He was accompanied by his Aide-de-Camp, Captain George Mercer, of Virginia, and Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Light Horse, the officer who had taken Braddock from the field of battle.

In those days the conveniences for traveling, even between our chief cities, were few, and the roads were execrable. The party, therefore, travelled in Virginia style on horseback, attended by their negro servants in livery. In this way they accomplished a journey of five hundred miles in the depth of winter stopping a few days at Philadelphia and New York. These cities were then comparatively small, and the arrival of a party of young southern officers attracted attention. The late battle on the Ohio was still the theme of every tongue, and the honorable way in which these young officers had acquitted themselves in it, made them objects of universal interest. Washington's fame, especially, had gone before him; having been spread by the officers who had served with him, and by the public honors decreed him by the Virginia Assembly. "Your name," wrote Gist the preceding autumn, "is more talked of in Philadelphia than that of any other person in the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command."

With these prepossessions in his favor, when we consider Washington's noble person and demeanor,

his consummate horsemanship, the admirable horses he was accustomed to ride, and the aristocratical style of his equipments, we may imagine the effect produced by him and his little cavalcade, as they clattered through the streets of Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Their sojourn in each city was a continual fete.

The mission to General Shirley was entirely successful as to the immediate question of rank; the Commander-in-Chief, giving orders that Captain Dagworthy should take rank as a Provincial Captain, only, and therefore be subject to the orders of the Virginia field officers. But Washington had hoped to get the King's commissions for himself and his officers, and in this he was disappointed.

From General Shirley he learned that the main objects of the ensuing campaign would be the reduction of Fort Niagara, so as to cut off communication between Canada and Louisiana; the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point as a measure of safety for New York; the taking of Fort Duquesne; and the menacing of Quebec.

Washington remained in Boston ten days, attending the meetings of the Massachusetts Legislature, in which the plan of military operations was ably discussed, and receiving the most hospitable attentions from the polite and cultivated society of the place. He then returned to New York.

Tradition says that he fell in love there with Mary Phillipse, a niece and heiress of Adolphus Phillipse, a

rich landholder, whose mansion house is still to be seen on the banks of the Hudson. He met her at the house of an early friend and schoolmate, Beverly Robinson, of Virginia, who had some time before married her sister, and was now living elegantly in New York. The young lady is said to have been as beautiful and as attractive as she was wealthy; and it is well known that Washington was among her avowed admirers. It is not probable, however, that he actually addressed her, for he was in New York only a few days; having been suddenly recalled to Virginia, by the menacing attitude of the French and Indians on the frontier of that province. The young lady was in due time wooed and won by Captain Morris, who had, as one of Braddock's aide-de-camps, been his friend and companion in that disastrous expedition.

CHAPTER VIII.—1756.

FORT DUQUESNE BECOMES FORT PITT.

Repairing directly to Williamsburg, Colonel Washington urged the Virginia Assembly to adopt more efficient measures for the capture of Fort Du Quesne, and the protection of the frontier. He particularly urged the organization and equipment of some companies of artillery and engineers.

While still at the capital, news came that the French and Indians had again crossed the Alleghanies, and were ravaging the Valley of the Shenandoah. Washington went at once to Winchester, whose inhabitants he found in great dismay, and took such measures as he could to defend the place. But they did not promise much; for he soon found he could not induce the militia to turn out. The alarm increased. The French and Indians were within twenty miles of Winchester. Fears were entertained that they would even cross the Blue Ridge, and ravage the country below them. Express after express was sent to hasten the militia, but sent in vain. The Legislature requested the Governor to call out part of the militia of the eastern counties, and to send them to the relief of Winchester. A company of one hundred gentlemen

volunteered, under the command of Peyton Randolph, the Attorney-General, and hurried to the front. Judge Marshall says, that ten well-trained woodsmen, or Indians, would have rendered more service. They would have conducted themselves gallantly in battle, no doubt; but they came too late, for the French and Indians disappeared towards the last of April, and took their way to Fort Du Quesne, laden with plunder, prisoners and scalps. Soon afterwards the militia appeared.

Relieved from pressing danger, Colonel Washington, after inspecting the frontier, again urged the Governor and Assembly to organize a force sufficient to drive the French from Fort Du Quesne. So long as they held that post, the great Indian force which their ascendancy over those savages enabled them to bring into action, would always put it in their power to annoy, and infinitely to distress, the border counties; perhaps, indeed, to acquire the possession of the whole Valley of Virginia. "As *defensive* measures," said he, in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, "are evidently insufficient for the safety and security of the country, I hope that no arguments are necessary to show the necessity of altering them to a vigorous *offensive* war, in order to remove the cause. * * Our scattered force, separated and dispersed as it is, in weak parties, avails little to stop the secret incursions of the savages. We can only put them to flight, or frighten them to some other part of the country; whereas, had we strength enough to invade their lands, and assault

their towns, we should restrain them from coming abroad, and leaving *their* families exposed. We should then remove the principal cause, and have stronger probability of success. We should be free from the many alarms, mischiefs and murders that now attend us; we should inspirit the hearts of our few Indian friends, and gain more esteem with them. In short, could Pennsylvania and Maryland be induced to join us in an expedition of this nature, and to petition his Excellency, Lord Loudoun (the newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief of the King's forces in America), for a small train of artillery, with some engineers, we should then be able, in all human probability, to subdue the terror of Fort Du Quesne, retrieve our character with the Indians, and restore peace to our unhappy frontiers."

In the apprehension that this favorite scheme would not be adopted, he submitted, at the same time, a plan for the defence of the frontier by building a strong fort at Winchester, which should be a deposit of military stores, quarters for the troops, and a place of refuge for the women and children in time of alarm, when the men had to take suddenly to the field—in a word, it was to be the citadel of the frontier. Besides this, there were to be several supporting posts at convenient distances. He proposed also to abandon Fort Cumberland, as being out of the province, and out of the track of Indian incursions.

None of these propositions got the favor of Governor Dinwiddie—a weak, obstinate and resentful

man—whose ignorant meddling added so greatly to Washington's perplexities, that he would have resigned his commission in despair, had he not been sustained by the applause of such men as Mr. Speaker Robinson and Colonel Fairfax, and others who knew and appreciated him. "Our hopes, dear George," wrote Mr. Robinson, "are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue. Consider what fatal consequences to your country, your resigning the command at this time may be, especially as there is no doubt most of the officers would follow your example."

In fact, the situation and services of the youthful commander, shut up in a frontier town, destitute of forces, surrounded by savage foes, gallantly, though desparingly, devoting himself to the safety of a suffering people, *were* properly understood throughout the country, and excited a glow of enthusiasm in his favor. The Legislature, too, began to act, though inefficiently, appropriating £20,000 for the service, and increasing the provincial force to 1,500 men.

The inglorious campaign of 1756 is illustrated by one daring act, which deserves mention. The Chiefs of the Indian bands which had twice ravaged the Valley of the Shenandoah, lived at a village, Kittannin, about forty miles above Fort Duquesne. There they fitted out their warriors for their raids, and thither these returned with their prisoners and plunder. A party of two hundred and eighty Pennsylvanians undertook to surprise and destroy this savage nest. They were commanded by Colonel John Armstrong, and

with him went the Scotchman, Dr. Hugh Mercer, of whom we have heretofore heard, and who was now a Captain in the service of Pennsylvania, and was to become the friend and neighbor of Washington. The expedition was as successful as it was daring. Thirty or forty warriors were slain, the town was burned to the ground, and the party returned safely to the English Settlements.

At the North, the campaign dragged heavily along. General Loudoun, who had been appointed to succeed Braddock, did not reach Albany till the 29th of July (1756). Abercrombie, who had succeeded Shirley, had reached there a month before, but he had done nothing. There were about 10,000 troops—regulars and provincials—at that point. After much debate, it was decided to send a part of them, under General Webb, to the relief of Oswego, which was threatened by the French; but he learned on the march that the post had been taken, and that its garrison were prisoners. While the British Generals were debating, Field Marshal the Marquis de Montcalm (newly arrived from France), had acted. He was a different kind of soldier from Loudoun and Abercrombie. A great mind and a brave heart animated a small, but active and untiring body. Quick in thought, quick in speech, quicker still in action, he comprehended everything at a glance, and moved with a celerity and a secrecy which utterly baffled his slow and pondering antagonists. Crown Point and Ticonderoga were visited and strengthened. Then, hastening to Mon-

treachery, he put himself at the head of a force of regulars, Canadians and Indians; ascended the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario; laid siege to the two forts at Oswego; drove the garrison of one into the other; killed its Commander, Colonel Mercer; made prisoners of both garrisons; and took an immense amount of Military stores and supplies, 121 pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, six war vessels, a larger number of batteaux, and three chests of money. All this being done, Montcalm returned to Montreal in triumph, and sent the captured flags to be hung up as trophies in the Canadian churches, while Lord Loudoun retired leisurely to the City of New York, hung up his sword, and enjoyed his comfortable winter quarters.

The Campaign of 1757, like that of 1756, was conducted in America with the greatest activity and ability on the part of the French, and with corresponding inactivity and imbecility on the part of the English.

In the course of July, Lord Loudoun set sail for Halifax, with six thousand men, to join, with a great fleet and an equal force of men under Admiral Holbourne, in an attack on Louisburg. Scarce had the tidings of his Lordship's departure from New York reached Montcalm, when that ever-active soldier swooped down on Lake George with nearly eight thousand men, of whom the greater part were Canadians and Indians, and on the 1st of August (1757), appeared before Fort William Henry. Its garrison of 500 men was commanded by a brave old officer, Colonel Monro. A summons to surrender was answered

by a bold defiance. For five days Monro held out, trusting to be relieved by General Webb, who was at Fort Edward, fifteen miles away, with five thousand men. He trusted in vain, and was obliged at length to surrender. Montcalm, appreciating his valor, granted him honorable terms; then, having demolished the fort, returned once more in triumph, with the spoils of victory, to hang up fresh trophies in the churches of Canada. His losses in killed and wounded had been but fifty-three.

Lord Loudoun had formed, meanwhile, a junction with Admiral Holbourne; and their fleet, bearing twelve thousand troops, approached within two miles of its destination, Louisburg. Lord Loudoun saw that the French were resolved to defend this stronghold, and prudently abandoned the attempt to take it. Thus ended the Northern Campaign, by land and sea, to the shame of England, and to the glory of France.

The English had now been driven from every cabin in the basin of the Ohio; and Montcalm had destroyed every vestige of their power within that of the St. Lawrence. France had her posts on each side of the Lakes, and at Detroit, at Mackinaw, at Kaskaskia, and at New Orleans. She had connected Canada and Louisiana by three well-established lines, the one by way of the Alleghany to Fort Duquesne; another by the way of the Maumee to the Wabash; and a third by way of Chicago to the Illinois. She was in military possession of four-fifths of all North America, and seemed to have established her claim to every foot of

land which was drained by the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence. Her American possessions were twenty times as great as those of England. On the Continent, too, England and her Allies had been everywhere defeated. So dark an hour, so gloomy a prospect, she had not known in many a year.

CHAPTER IX.

WILLIAM PITT AND VICTORY.—1757-1758.

In their humiliation and distress, the people of England turned for help to the only man who could, in their opinion and in his own, save the country—William Pitt—afterwards known as the great Earl of Chatham. Yielding to the popular will, the King ordered him to form a Ministry; and in July 1757 he assumed office. “Sire!” said he to his Sovereign, “give me your confidence, and I will deserve it.” “Deserve my confidence,” replied the King, “and you shall have it;” and George kept his word.

Straightway the voice of “the great Commoner” resounded throughout the world, impelling the armies of England, and the servants of the British State to achievements of lasting glory from the St. Lawrence to the Ganges. Animated and governed by his genius, a Corporation for trade did what Rome had not dreamed of, and a British Merchant’s Clerk set his foot in permanent triumph, where Alexander the Great had faltered. Inspired and strengthened by him, the great Frederick won, on the 5th of December, the greatest victory which had illustrated the 18th Century; a victory which established on a firm basis the

power of that Prussia, which Bismarck has in our day made supreme in Germany. The soldiers knew how the fate of Prussia hung on that battle; and when a grenadier of the Guard, on the field of carnage, began to sing "Thanks be to God," the whole army in the darkness of evening, standing amidst thousands of the dead, uplifted the hymn of praise.

No less potent was his will in America. Loudoun, whom Franklin, with characteristic humor and sagacity, likened to "St. George on the Signs, who was always on horse-back, but never rode on," was forthwith recalled. The Colonies were called on to put 20,000 men into the field. England would arm, equip and supply them; nothing would be required, or expected of the colonists but to levy, clothe and pay them, and even these charges the King would strongly urge Parliament to reimburse; all company and field officers should rank with British officers of similar grade, according to the date of their commissions. Three several expeditions were to be set in motion—the first, under the command of Amherst, was to join the fleet under Boscawen for the siege of Louisburg; and the second, under the command of Abercrombie was to capture Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The third, under Forbes, was to move against Fort Duquesne.

Louisburg was taken on the 27th of July 1758. The hero of the expedition was Brigadier-General James Wolfe, an officer young in years, but a veteran in military service, and destined to gain an almost roman-

tie celebrity. He was but thirty-one, but had been eighteen years in the service; was at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and had won laurels at Saffeldt. None was more gallant than young Richard Montgomery: just one-and-twenty, and Irish by birth; an humble officer in Wolfe's Brigade, but also a servant of humanity, enlisted in its corps of immortals. Captain Amherst, brother of the General, carried home the news to England, with eleven pair of colors. There were rejoicings throughout the Kingdom. The colors were borne in triumph through the streets of London, with a parade of horse and foot, kettle drums and trumpets, and the thunder of artillery, and were put up as trophies in St. Paul's Cathedral. Thus fell the power of France on the Coast.

On the banks of Lake George 9,024 provincials from New England, New York and New Jersey had meanwhile assembled. Among them were Benjamin Stark of New Hampshire, now promoted to Captain: and the generous, open-hearted Israel Putnam, a Connecticut Major, of gentle disposition, brave, sincere and artless. By the side of the provincials rose the tents of the Regulars, 6,367 in number. Of the whole force Abercrombie was Commander-in-Chief; but it was the gallant spirit of Howe, a young nobleman, brave and enterprising, full of martial enthusiasm, and endeared to the soldiery by the generosity of his disposition, and the sweetness of his manners, which infused ardor and confidence into every bosom.

On the 5th day of July (1758) the whole armament

of more than 15,000 men, the largest army that had ever been assembled in America, embarked in boats, and moved down the beautiful Lake. Resting from sunset till midnight, they kept on their way till they reached a point which still bears the name of Lord Howe. Here they landed and began their march. Their advance under Howe soon came upon a party of the enemy. In the skirmish which ensued he was the first to fall. The grief of his fellow-soldiers spoke his eulogy. Massachusetts voted him a monument in Westminster Abbey, and America bewailed his loss. With him expired the soul of the enterprise.

A few days later Abercrombie, who had fallen back, on the death of Howe, again advanced, but was driven back with a loss of nearly 2,000 men in killed and wounded. He had met Montcalm, whose ability, and activity and genius made up for the smallness of his force. He had only 2,800 French and 450 Canadians. The English still exceeded the French four-fold. Their artillery was near, and could easily force a passage. But Abercrombie, a victim to the extremest fright and consternation, retreated that same evening in the utmost haste to his boats, nor did he stop till he had placed the Lake between himself and Montcalm. Even then he sent his artillery and ammunition to Albany for safety.

While Abercrombie lay in inglorious ease near the Lake, one of his officers, Colonel Bradstreet, led an expedition consisting of nearly 3,000 provincials against Fort Frontenac, on the north side of Lake On-

tario, and took it with an immense amount of merchandize and military stores, and all of the enemy's shipping on the Lake. After dismantling the fortifications and destroying everything which he could not carry away, he returned with his troops to the army at Lake George. Early in November (1758) Abercrombie was superseded as Commander-in-Chief by Amherst, who had arrived at Lake George in October.

Pitt, who had carefully studied the geography of North America, knew that the capture and destruction of Fort Frontenac had opened the way to Niagara; and he turned his mind from the defeat on Lake George to see whether the banner of England was already waving over Fort Duquesne, the key of the West. For its conquest he relied mainly on the central provinces. Maryland contributed nothing to the campaign. But General Forbes, to whom this expedition had been entrusted, saw, after long delays, twelve hundred and fifty Highlanders arrive from South Carolina. They were reinforced by three hundred and fifty Royal Americans. Pennsylvania raised twenty-seven hundred men; and Virginia sent two regiments of nineteen hundred men under Washington. Yet great as were these preparations, Forbes would never have seen the Ohio, but for Washington.

On the 21st of July arrived tidings of the brilliant success which had attended General Amherst's expedition against Louisburg. This intensified Washington's impatience to march. Learning that Forbes had some thought of throwing a body of light troops in

advance, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet, who was in immediate command of the army, begging to have himself and his Regiments included in this detachment. "I hope," said he, "that I may be allowed to say that from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that can be employed." The plan was, however, abandoned, in consequence of the determination of Forbes, against Washington's frequent and earnest remonstrances, and in spite of the loudly expressed indignation of the Virginia Assembly, to open a new road through Pennsylvania to Fort Duquesne.

September had come before Forbes, whose life was slowly ebbing away, was borne in a litter to the front, at Raystown, thirty miles from Cumberland. Meanwhile Washington had been busy providing and disciplining his men for the march. As they were scantily supplied with regimental clothing, he conceived the idea of equipping them in the light Indian hunting garb, and adapted it himself. Two companies were accordingly equipped in this style, and they having been ordered to General Head-Quarters, their costume was greatly admired, and was gradually adopted by the Americans in their subsequent warfare.

The 1st of December found Washington still at Cumberland, his troops sick and dispirited, his Indians all gone, and the brilliant expedition which he had anticipated dwindling down to a tedious operation of road-making. In the meantime, his scouts had in-

formed him that the French force, including Indians, at the fort, did not exceed 800. At length, Forbes having reached Raystown, Washington joined him there with his forces, and was received by the General with the highest marks of respect. On all occasions, both public and private, that officer now treated his opinions with the greatest deference, adopting his plan of march, and an order of battle which still exists.

The advance of the army under Colonel Bouquet, consisting of about 2,000 men, had by this time opened the road to a point beyond Laurel Hill, and was within about fifty miles of Fort Duquesne. Learning of the smallness of the force there, Bouquet, who was a vain fellow, sent forward, without the order or knowledge of Forbes, a force of eight hundred men, among them a company of Virginians under Major Lewis, the whole under command of Major Grant, to reconnoiter the country in the neighborhood of the fort, and to ascertain the strength and position of the enemy. Grant conducted the enterprise with the foolhardiness of a man eager for personal notoriety. His whole object seems to have been to provoke an attack. The French, who had been reinforced, were apprised, through their scouts, of his approach, but suffered him to advance unmolested. Arriving at midnight, Grant posted his men on a hill, which to this day bears his name, and sent out a party of men to set fire to a log house near the fort. As if this were not enough to put the French on the alert, he had his drums beat loudly in the morning,

and marshalling his regulars in battle array, sent an engineer, with a covering party, to take a plan of the works, in full view of the garrison. A large body of French and Indians now rushed out of the fort, under the gallant Aubrey, and attacked Grants troops in front, while other Indians in ambush attacked his flanks. A scene now ensued similar to that of the defeat of Braddock. Again the regulars gave way, with the loss of nearly three hundred men, and again the Virginians saved the detachment from utter ruin. Lewis fought hand-to-hand with an Indian, whom he laid dead at his feet, but was, with Major Grant, forced to surrender. Out of eight Virginia officers, five were killed, a sixth wounded, and a seventh (Major Lewis) taken prisoner. Captain Bullitt, who saved the remnant of the detachment, was the only officer who escaped unhurt. Out of 166 Virginians engaged in the affair, sixty-two were killed on the spot.

Washington, to whose Regiment they belonged and who was at Raystown when the disastrous news was received, was publicly complimented by General Forbes on the gallant conduct of his men. Bullitt's behavior was publicly extolled, and he was soon afterward rewarded with a major's commission.

As a further mark of the high opinion now entertained of the provincial troops, they were formed into a Division, under Washington's command, and sent to the front.

The entire army reached the camp at Loyal Hanna, through a road said to be indescribably bad, and

there, as had been predicted, a council of war determined that it was unadvisable to proceed further this campaign. Fifty miles of a wilderness, through which there was no road, still separated them from Fort Duquesne. But it would have been almost impossible to have wintered an army in that position. They must have retreated from the cold, inhospitable, mountain forest, into which they had penetrated, or have suffered immensely. Fortunately, some prisoners, brought in about this time, informed them of the extreme distress of Ft. Duquesne. The garrison was weak, in great want of provisions, and had been deserted by the Indians. These encouraging circumstances changed the resolution which had been taken, and the march was accordingly resumed.

Colonel Washington was advanced in front; and with infinite labor opened the way for the main body of the Army. Moving forward with slow and painful steps over a road, which was white with the bones of those who had been killed in Grant's late unfortunate movement or had died on the retreat, and of the slain in Braddock's defeat, they cautiously drew near the Fort expecting a vigorous defence. But the French had evacuated it the evening before, and setting it on fire, had gone down the Ohio in boats.

The recent successes of the English in Canada, particularly the capture and destruction of Fort Frontenac, had left the garrison without hope of reinforcements or supplies. Its whole force did not, at the

time, exceed five hundred, and their provisions were nearly exhausted.

On the 25th of November (1758) Washington, with the advance of the Army, marched in, and planted the British Flag on the yet smoking ruins. The Fort was repaired, and garrisoned by two hundred men of Washington's own Regiment. Its name was changed to Fort Pitt, in honor of the great minister, whose unparalleled vigor and talents had given force and effect to the campaign. America afterwards raised to him statues that have been wrongfully broken; and erected granite monuments, of which not one stone remains upon another; but so long as the Monongahela and the Alleghany shall flow together and form the Ohio, and hold in their beneficent arms the great City which has grown up in their embrace, so long as the English tongue shall be the language of freedom in the boundless valley which their waters traverse, so long will his name stand inscribed on the Gateway to the West.

Colonel Washington now marched back to Winchester with his command; and soon afterwards proceeded to Williamsburg to take his seat in the General Assembly, of which he had been elected a Member for the County of Frederick, while stationed at Fort Cumberland.

The removal of the French from the Ohio having put an end to Indian hostilities and relieved Virginia from all apprehension of their savage incursions, the object for which alone Washington had continued in

the service, was accomplished. His health, too, was much impaired, and his domestic affairs were in urgent need of his attention.

Impelled by these, and other motives of a private nature, he determined to withdraw from a service which he could now quit without dishonor; and accordingly towards the close of the year (1758) he resigned his commission as Colonel of the 1st Virginia Regiment, and Commander-in-Chief of all the troops of that Colony. On the last day of the year "the affectionate" officers whom he had commanded expressed with "sincerity and openness of soul" their grief at losing a leader who had always shown "a quick discernment and invariable regard for merit, an earnestness to inculcate genuine sentiments of true honor and passion for glory," whose example inspired "alacrity and cheerfulness in encountering the severest toils," and whose zeal for strict discipline and order gave to his troops a superiority which both regulars and provincials publicly acknowledged."

In the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Speaker (Robinson) obeying the resolve of the House, publicly gave him the thanks of Virginia for his services to his Country. When the young man, taken by surprise, hesitated for words wherewith to reply, "Sit down," said the Speaker, "your modesty is equal to your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

CHAPTER X.

FRANCE LOSES HER AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.

BEFORE following Washington into his retirement, and telling the story of his new life at Mount Vernon, it will be well to glance at the concluding events of that great war, wherein he struck the first blow, and in which he was taught the lessons that prepared him for his great career: and which wrought, too, those mighty changes, out of which, under the his wise guidance the United States arose.

Major-General Amherst had succeeded Abercrombie as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America. For the Campaign of 1759 he planned three Expeditions, of which one, under the command of Wolfe, was to ascend the St. Lawrence, and lay siege to Quebec, the Capital of Canada; a second, under General Prideaux, was to take Fort Niagara, and then to descend the St. Lawrence, capture Montreal, and hasten on to Quebec. The third, under Amherst himself, was to advance by Lake George against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, reduce those forts, cross Lake Champlain, and push on to Quebec, where the whole army was to be ultimately concentrated.

General Prideaux, accompanied by Sir William

Johnson and a large body of Indians, laid siege to Fort Niagara. He was killed, by the bursting of a cohorn, in his own trenches, on the 20th of July, and Brigadier-General Gage, who had led Braddock's advance, was ordered to take the command. Before he reached the army, however, Sir William Johnson, who was meanwhile in command, routed a large force of French and Indians, which was hastening to the relief of the Fort, and on the next day (July 25, 1759) captured it with its garrison of about 600 men. Thus did New York extend her limits to the Niagara River and Lake Erie.

Meantime Amherst assembled his army on Lake George, and with nearly twelve thousand men advanced on Ticonderoga and Crown Point. At the approach of this overwhelming force the French abandoned both of those forts. They had only about four hundred men. Instead of following them up, Amherst wasted all August, all September, and ten days of October, in building fortifications at Crown Point, and in repairing Ticonderoga, while Wolfe lay waiting for him before Quebec.

He, with his eight thousand men, had ascended the St. Lawrence in June. With him were Colonel Guy Carleton and Lieutenant-Colonel William Howe, both destined to celebrity, in after years, in the annals of the American Revolution. Among the officers of the fleet was Jervis, the future Admiral, and famous Earl St. Vincent. And the Master of one of the ships was James Cook, the great Navigator, who afterwards ex-

plored and revealed the unknown paths and thousand isles of the Pacific.

The brigades had for their commanders the brave, open-hearted, and liberal Robert Monckton, afterwards Governor of New York, George Townshend and James Murray.

On the 27th of June (1759) the whole force disembarked on the Isle of Orleans. A little way off the seemingly impregnable Cliff of Quebec was seen distinctly, rising precipitously in the midst of one of the grandest scenes in Nature. To protect this Citadel of New France, Montcalm had only six wasted battalions of regular troops, a few Indian warriors, and the Canadian Militia; the latter gave him the superiority in numbers, but he put his chief confidence in the natural strength of the Country.

Of the movements of the opposing forces during the next ten weeks; of the untiring zeal with which Wolfe sought his foe; of the patient courage with which Montcalm baffled him continually; of the English defeat at the Falls of Montmorenci; and of the skill, the daring, and the invincible pluck with which Wolfe at last planted himself upon the plains of Abraham; and of all that was done in those eventful days, this is not the place to write.

The two armies stood face to face on those high plains, in numbers not unequal. When at last, Montcalm saw that the moment for decisive action had come, he led the French impetuously to the attack. Then came the shock of battle. Wolfe was wounded

in the wrist; still pressing forward, he received a second ball; and then was struck a third time, and mortally, in the breast. "Support me," he cried, "let not my brave fellows see me drop." He was carried to the rear, and they brought him water to quench his thirst. "They run; they run," said the officer on whom he leaned. "Who run?" asked Wolfe as life fast ebbed away. "The French." "What? Do they run already? Go, one of you, to Colonel Burton and bid him march Webb's regiment with all speed to Charles River to cut off the fugitives. Now God be praised! I die happy." These were his dying words. Night, silence, the rushing tide, veteran discipline, and the sure inspiration of genius, had been his allies; his battlefield, high over the Ocean-river, was the grandest theatre on earth for illustrious deeds; his victory, one of the most momentous in the annals of mankind, gave to the English tongue and to the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race the unexplored, and seemingly infinite, North and West. He crowded into a few hours actions which would have given lustre to length of life; and, filling his day with greatness, completed it before its noon.

The hope of New France was also gone. Born and educated in camps, Montcalm had been carefully instructed, and was skilled in the language of Homer, as well as in the art of war. Greatly laborious, just, disinterested, hopeful even to rashness, sagacious in council, swift in action, his mind was a well-spring of bold designs; his career in Canada a wonderful strug-

gle against inexorable destiny. Sustaining hunger and cold, vigils and incessant toil, anxious for his soldiers, unmindful of himself, he set, even to the forest-trained red men, an example of self-denial and endurance; and in the midst of corruption made the public good his aim. But the hour of defeat and death had come at last. Struck by a musket ball, he continued to fight till he was mortally wounded by a second. On hearing that death was inevitable, "I am glad of it," he cried. "How long shall I live?" "Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less." "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec. To your keeping," said he to de Ramsay, "I commend the honor of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." Having written a letter commending the French prisoners to the generosity of the English, his last hours were given to the hope of an endless life, and at five the next morning (Sept. 15, 1759) he expired. On the 17th Quebec capitulated.

America rang with exultation; the towns were bright with illuminations, the hills with bonfires; provinces and families gave thanks to God. When the Parliament assembled, Pitt modestly put aside the praises which were showered on him. "The more a man is versed in business," said he, "the more he finds the hand of Providence everywhere."

Had Amherst followed up his success at Ticonderoga the preceding summer, the year's campaign would have ended, as had been projected, in the sub-

jugation of Canada. His delay gave the French time to make another struggle for the salvation of the Province.

But the inevitable end was reached on the 8th of September 1760, when Vaudreuil, in command at Montreal, threatened by an army of nearly ten thousand English and a host of Indians under Amherst and Sir William Johnson, surrendered that post and all Canada.

Thus ended the contest between France and England for dominion in America. A far-seeing French statesman, the Count de Vergennes, predicted that England's triumph would not be lasting; that the expulsion of the French from America would remove the only check which kept the English colonies in awe, and made them feel the need of protection: and that when called upon by the Mother Country to contribute towards supporting the burdens which the war had brought upon her, they would answer by declaring and establishing their independence.

CHAPTER XI.

WASHINGTON FALLS IN LOVE AND GETS MARRIED.

While Forbes was concentrating his forces at Cumberland, and making ready for the march upon Fort Duquesne, Colonel Washington, whose men were in want of arms, tents, field equipage, and almost everything, was ordered to repair to Williamsburg, and lay the matter before the Council. He sat off promptly on horse-back, attended by Bishop, a well trained military servant who had been with General Braddock.

In crossing a ferry over the Pamunkey, an affluent of York River, he fell in company with a Mr. Chamberlayne, who lived in the neighborhood, and who, in the spirit of Virginia hospitality, claimed him as a guest. It was with difficulty that Washington could be prevailed upon to halt for dinner, so impatient was he to reach Williamsburg and accomplish his mission.

Among the guests at Mr. Chamberlayne's was a young and blooming widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, daughter of Mr. John Dandridge. Her husband, John Parke Custis, had died about three years before, leaving her with two young children, and a large fortune. She is said to have been rather below the middle size, but exquisitely formed, with an agreeable countenance,

dark eyes, and hair, and those frank and engaging manners, which are the charm of Southern women.

Whether Washington had met her previously is not known. At any rate the dinner, which was in those days a midday meal, was not concluded, before his susceptible heart had been completely captured. Bishop was punctual with the horses, but the lover still lingered by the side of the bewitching widow. The horses pawed impatiently before the gate; but, for once in his life, Washington loitered in the path of duty. Beguiled by the charmer, he ordered them back to the stable; forgot for a few hours the stern duties of war; and, in the deepening twilight of a Southern summer day, sat beside the woman he loved, and drank deeply of the sweetest and purest draught, which Nature pours out to her most favored children.

The next morning Washington was in the saddle, spurring on to Williamsburgh. Happily for him the White House, her home, was not far from the City, and during his stay there, Washington was her frequent visitor. His time for courtship was, however, brief. His duties called him back to the army. He pressed his wooing, and urged his suit to the utmost. The high-born, and fascinating widow, the mistress of many broad acres, and of many dusky slaves, was not unsought by others. Suitors crowded around her. But the stately grace of Washington, his grave dignity, and native manliness, and that renown which he had won in war, and which he wore so modestly, found favor in her sight, and overcame her woman's heart,

and won her love ; and when he started off to the field of battle, they had mutually plighted their faith, and she had promised to become his wife, when he, having hoisted the British flag over the French Fort on the Ohio, should come back to the sunny Lowlands, and claim her as his bride.

Hastening back to his troops at Winchester, Washington, who had resolved to leave the army at the end of the Campaign in order to remain near the woman of his love and devotion, yielded to the solicitations of his friends, and offered himself to the voters of Frederick County as a candidate to represent them in the Virginia House of Burgesses. The election was to take place at Winchester, whence he had meanwhile moved with his troops to Cumberland. He had three competitors, and was advised to return to Winchester to attend to it. His commanding officer gave him a leave of absence for the purpose ; but Washington refused to absent himself from his post for the promotion of his personal interests. Nor was it needful for him to do so. He was triumphantly elected.

It has already been told that Washington took possession of Fort Duquesne on the 25th of November 1758 ; and that, the frontiers of Virginia having been thereby relieved from all danger of Indian incursions, he resigned his commission as Commander of the Virginia Forces, and on the last day of the year, (1758) took leave of his officers. A few days afterwards, (Jan. 6, 1759) his marriage with Mrs. Custis was celebrated at her residence, "The White House,"

in the good old style of Virginia hospitality amid a joyful assemblage of relatives and friends.

There they remained for the present, that he might attend the House of Burgesses, which was then in session. It was on the occasion of his taking his seat in that body for the first time, that the scene occurred, in which the Speaker commended his modesty as being equal to his valor. Upon the final adjournment of the Assembly he took his bride to their future home, Mount Vernon.

Mr. Custis, her first husband, had left a large landed property and £45,000. One-third of all this fell to the widow, and the remainder to her two children, a boy and a girl. The whole was managed by Washington in the most faithful and judicious manner. He now gave himself up to the delights and duties of a country life. Throughout the whole course of his career, this was his *beau idéal* of existence. It haunted his thoughts even when he was in command of armies, and to it he returned always with unflagging interest. No impulse of ambition ever tempted him to leave its peaceful repose; nothing but the call of his country, and his devotion to the public good. Mount Vernon was particularly dear to him. It had been the home of his brother, Lawrence. It was there that he had himself grown into early manhood, and it was in itself a charming home. The mansion was beautifully situated on a swelling height, crowned with wood, and commanding a magnificent view of the wide Potomac. The grounds were laid out somewhat in the English

style. Its fields and forests were all carefully looked after. The surrounding country, with its range of woods, hills and picturesque promontories, was a noble hunting-ground. "No estate in United America," he observes in one of his letters, "is more pleasantly situated. It is a high and healthy country, between the extremes of heat and cold, and on one of the finest rivers in the world. It is washed by more than ten miles of tide-water ; the whole shore is one entire fishery."

These were as yet the aristocratical days of Virginia. The estates were large, and continued in the same families by entails. Many of the wealthy families were connected with old families in England. The young men, especially the elder sons, were often sent there to complete their education, and on their return brought with them the tastes and habits of the Mother Country. The Governors of Virginia were from the higher ranks of society, and maintained a corresponding state. The Established, or Episcopal, Church predominated ; each County was divided into parishes, as in England, each with its parish church, its parsonage, and glebe. Washington was vestry-man of two parishes ; the parish church of the one was at Alexandria, ten miles from Mount Vernon ; of the other at Pohick, seven miles away. He always attended one or the other of these churches every Sunday, when the weather and roads permitted. During the prayers Mrs. Washington always knelt, and he always stood, as was then the custom. They were both communicants.

Among his occasional visitors were his old army friends, Captain Hugh Mercer and Dr. Craik. The former was living at Fredericksburg, the latter at Alexandria.

A style of living prevailed among the opulent Virginia families of those days, which has long faded away. Their houses were capacious, liberal in all their appointments, and fitted for the free-handed, open-hearted, hospitality of their owners. Rich services of plate, elegant equipages, and superb carriage-horses—all brought from England—were everywhere to be seen. The rich planters vied with each other in their studs, importing the best English stocks. One of the Randolphs of Tuckahoe built a stable for his favorite dapple-gray, *Shakspeare*, with a recess for the bed of the negro groom, who always attended him, and slept by him at night.

Washington, whose own considerable fortune had been increased more than one hundred thousand dollars by his marriage, could well live in ample and dignified style. His intimacy with the Fairfaxes and his intercourse with British officers of rank perhaps influenced his mode of living. He had his chariot and four, with black postillions in livery for the use of Mrs. Washington and her guests. As for himself, he always appeared on horseback. His stables were well filled, and admirably regulated. His stud was thoroughbred.

In those days a large Virginia estate was a little empire. The mansion-house was the seat of govern-

ment, with its numerous dependencies, such as kitchens, smoke-house, workshops and stables. In this mansion the planter ruled supreme; his steward, or overseer, was his prime minister and executive officer; he had his legion of house-servants, and his host of field negroes, for the culture of tobacco, Indian corn, and other crops, and for out-door labor. Their quarters formed a kind of village, composed of various cabins or huts, with little gardens, and chicken-yards, and patches of field, and swarms of little negroes gambolling around. Then there were large tobacco-houses, and mills for grinding wheat and Indian corn.

Among the slaves were artificers of all kinds—tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, etc., so that a plantation produced within itself everything for ordinary use. Articles of fashion and elegance, and luxurious and expensive clothing were imported from London; for the planters along the rivers, especially the Potomac, traded directly with England. Their tobacco was put up by their own negroes, bore their own marks, and was shipped from their own wharves to some agent in Liverpool or Bristol, with whom the planter kept an account.

Unlike most Virginia planters, Washington supervised, directed and managed his own affairs, kept his own accounts, posted up his books, and balanced them with mercantile exactness. The products of his estate became so noted for the faithfulness as to quantity and quality with which they were put up, that it is said that any barrel of flour which bore the brand of

George Washington, Mount Vernon, was exempted from the customary inspection in the West India ports.

He was an early riser, often getting up before break of day, in winter. On such occasions he lit his own fire, and read or wrote by candle-light. He breakfasted at 7 in summer, and at 8 in winter. Two small cups of tea and two or three hoe-cakes constituted his meal. Immediately after breakfast he rode over those parts of his estate where any work was going on, and gave his orders for the day.

Dinner was served at two o'clock. He ate heartily, but was no epicure, nor critical about his food. His beverage was cider or beer, and two glasses of old Madeira. He took tea, of which he was very fond, early in the evening, and retired for the night about 9 o'clock.

He treated his negroes with great kindness, attended to their comforts, and was particularly careful of them in sickness; but never tolerated idleness, and exacted a faithful performance of all their tasks. He had a quick eye, too, at calculating a man's capabilities.

He delighted in the chase. In the hunting season, when he rode out early in the morning to visit distant parts of the estate, he often took his dogs with him, for the chance of starting a fox, which he occasionally did, but he was not always successful in killing him. He was a bold rider and an admirable horseman, though he never pretended to be an accomplished fox-

hunter. In the height of the season, however, he would be out with the fox-hounds two or three times a week, accompanied by his guests at Mount Vernon, and the gentlemen of the neighborhood, especially the Fairfaxes of Belvoir, of which estate his friend George William Fairfax was still the proprietor. On such occasions there would be a hunting dinner, at which Washington is said to have always enjoyed himself with great hilarity. Now and then old Lord Fairfax would make a visit to Belvoir, and then the hunting was kept up with amazing spirit.

The old Lord lived very constantly, however, at Greenway Court, and was a great favorite in that remote County. As lord-tenant of the County, and *custos rotulorum*, he presided over the County Court, which was held at Winchester. He was also overseer of the public roads, and was unwearied in working for the improvement of the County. Hunting was, however, his passion. When the sport was poor near home, he would take his hounds to a distant part of the country, establish himself at an inn, and keep open house, and open table to every person of good character and respectable appearance, who chose to join him in following the hounds. Sometimes it was in quest of sport of this kind that he now and then revisited the Potomac, and then the beautiful woodland region about Belvoir and Mount Vernon was sure to ring, at early morn, with the inspiring music of the hound.

The Potomac, in the palmy days of Virginia, was

occasionally the scene of a little aquatic state and ostentation among the rich planters, who resided on its banks. They had beautiful barges, which, like their land equipages, were imported from England; and mention is made of a Mr. Digges, who always received Washington in a barge rowed by six negroes, arrayed in a kind of uniform of check-shirts, and black velvet caps. At one time, according to notes in Washington's diary, the whole neighborhood was thrown into a paroxysm of festivity by the anchoring of a British frigate in the river, just in front of Belvoir. There were dinners and breakfasts at Mount Vernon, and at Belvoir, and tea parties on the frigate, and the greatest gaiety everywhere.

Occasionally he and Mrs. Washington would go to Annapolis, while the Maryland Assembly was in session. The society of the capitals of the Provinces was always polite and fashionable, and more exclusive then, than in these Republican days; being, in a manner, the outposts of the English aristocracy, where all places of dignity or profit were secured for younger sons and poor but proud relatives. Dinners and balls abounded, and there were occasional theatricals, an amusement of which Washington was particularly fond. He was somewhat given to dancing—but is said to have been rather grave and ceremonious.

CHAPTER XII.

ENGLISH OPPRESSION.

In this round of rural occupations, and amusements, and social intercourse, Washington passed several tranquil years. He was not, however, altogether withdrawn from public pursuit and duties. As a member of the County Court, and of the House of Burgesses, he had numerous calls upon his time and thoughts. He also took a personal interest in a project to drain the great Dismal Swamp, and make it fit for cultivation. With his usual zeal and hardihood he explored it on horseback, and on foot, and made a report, which led to the organization of the Dismal Swamp Company, which, in accordance with his observations and plans, has since converted that then desolate region into productive fields.

Other public matters of far greater importance than these were now taking a course, which was destined gradually to bear him away from his quiet home, and launch him on his great career.

At no period of time was the attachment of the colonists to the mother country more strong or more general than in 1763, when the definitive Treaty of Peace between Great Britain, France and Spain was signed. The war, which it concluded, had deeply interested

every part of America. Every colony had been engaged in it; every colony had felt its ravages. The part taken in it by the Indians had greatly increased its horrors, and had added to the joy which was produced by its termination. The union of that vast tract of country which extends from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Circle, was also believed to be a guarantee of future peace, and an effectual security against the horrors of civilized, as well as savage, warfare.

This state of things had been brought about by the union of British and American valor. English and Americans had co-operated in the same service, their blood had mingled in the same fields, and they had pursued a common object, for the good of both.

While the British Nation was endeared to the American heart by this community of danger and identity of interest, the brilliant achievements of the war had exalted to enthusiasm the admiration which the Colonists felt for British valor. They were proud of the land of their ancestors, and of the fact that they were themselves the sons of Englishmen. They admired, with fervor, the political institutions of the Mother Country. And the excellence of the English Constitution was the constant theme of their declamation. They, at the same time, jealously insisted upon their own right to the enjoyment of its advantages, and could not admit that, by crossing the Atlantic, their ancestors had relinquished the essential rights of British subjects.

The degree of authority which Parliament might rightfully exercise over the colonies had never been accurately defined. In England it had always been asserted that it might bind them in all cases whatsoever. In America, at different times, and in different colonies, various opinions had been entertained on this subject.

In New England, (originally settled by Republicans, and the favorite, during the Commonwealth, of the English Nation,) habits of independence had nourished the theory that the Colonial Legislatures possessed all the powers of legislation which had not been surrendered by compact; that they were themselves subjects of the British Crown, but not of the British Nation; and that they were not bound by any law to which they had not assented. From this high ground they had, it is true, been compelled reluctantly to recede; but the doctrine was still extensively maintained that Parliament had no right, or power, to regulate the internal affairs of the Colonies.

In the Middle and Southern provinces no question respecting the supremacy of Parliament in matters of general legislation had ever existed. But even these Colonies, however they might acknowledge the supremacy of Parliament in other respects, denied the right of that body to tax them internally, without their consent.

A scheme for taxing the Colonies by authority of Parliament had been formed as early as 1739, but had not been countenanced by the then prime minister of

England, Sir Robert Walpole. "It must be a bolder man than myself," he replied when that suggestion was made to him, "and one less friendly to commerce, who will venture on such an expedient." For his part he would encourage the trade of the colonies to the utmost; one-half of the profits would be sure to come into the Royal Exchequer through the increased demand for British manufactures. "This," said he, sagaciously, "is taxing them more agreeably to their own Constitutions and laws."

This scheme was not again taken up until 1754, when a war, in which every part of the Empire was deeply concerned, was about to begin. Some of the Colonies themselves appear to have then wished for the adoption of some mode for combining their exertions, and for equitably apportioning the expenses of the common cause. The Government accordingly devised a plan for taxing the Colonies. The temper and opinions of the Colonists were, however, so manifestly against the execution of the plan, that the Ministry in view of the impolicy of irritating them in the midst of a great war, and when their willing co-operation was absolutely required, suspended all action for the time.

Of the right of Parliament, as the supreme authority of the Nation, to tax as well as to govern the Colonies, those who guided the Councils of Great Britain seem, however, never to have entertained a doubt.

This total opposition of opinion between England and America on that subject which most interests the

human heart was now about to produce a system of measures which tore asunder all the bonds of relationship and affection, which had subsisted for ages, and planted the deepest hatred in bosoms, where the warmest friendship had been long cultivated. The unexampled expenses of the war rendered unavoidable a great addition to the regular and usual taxes of Great Britain; and great difficulty was experienced in searching out new sources of revenue. In its embarrassment the Ministry turned to the Colonies, and, upon its suggestion, Parliament passed, (1764), without much debate, a resolution that it would be proper to impose certain Stamp duties in the Colonies and Plantations, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, payable into the British Exchequer; and the Ministry gave notice, that it would introduce such a measure at the ensuing session of Parliament.

In the meantime that body perpetuated certain duties on sugar and molasses (heretofore subjects of complaint and opposition), and imposed duties on other articles imported into the Colonies. To reconcile the latter to these measures, it was stated that the revenue to be thus raised was to be appropriated to their protection and security. It was really intended for the support of a *Standing Army*, which was to be quartered upon them.

Whatever might have been the fate of the commercial regulations, the resolution concerning the duties on Stamps excited a great and general ferment in America. The right of Parliament to impose taxes

on the colonies became the subject of universal conversation and was almost universally denied. Petitions to the King, and memorials to both Houses of Parliament against the measure were transmitted by several of the provincial Assemblies to the Board of Trade in England, to be presented immediately to his Majesty, and to Parliament when it should meet. Massachusetts instructed her agent in London to use his utmost endeavors to obtain a repeal of the acts laying duties, and to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act, or any other Act laying taxes upon the American Provinces. A Committee was, also, appointed to correspond with the Legislatures of the other Colonies, and to solicit their concurrence in the measures which she had adopted.

The Legislatures of Virginia, Rhode Island, New York and North Carolina seconded Massachusetts; and Franklin appeared in London at the head of agents from Pennsylvania, Connecticut and South Carolina to deprecate in person measures so fraught with mischief; and, at the same time, associations were formed to abstain from the use of such British manufactured goods as were not indispensable.

Perceiving the opposition which would be encountered by adhering to the vote of the last session, the Ministry informed the agents of the Colonies, in London, that if they would propose any other mode of raising the sum required, their proposition would be accepted, and the Stamp Duty laid aside. The agents replied that they were not authorized to propose any substitute,

but were ordered to oppose any bill which should assume to tax the Colonies without their consent. This reply placed the controversy on ground which seemed to admit of no compromise; and Grenville, believing successful resistance to be absolutely impossible, brought into Parliament his celebrated Act for imposing Stamp Duties in America. It passed both Houses by very great majorities, but not without animated debate (1765). General Conway, alone, had the courage to stem the torrent of public opinion and with magnanimous firmness to protest against their right to give away the money of those who were not represented in that Body. One particular passage in the debate stands out in relief from the rest, and has found a place in every American History. Mr. Grenville had concluded a long argument in favor of the bill with these words: "Will these American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?" In answer to which observation, Colonel Barré, who, having served in America, claimed to speak of the Colonists from personal knowledge, indignantly and eloquently exclaimed, "*Children planted by your care!* No! Your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others to the savage cruelty of an enemy the most subtle and the most terrible

that ever inhabited any part of God's Earth. * * * *They nourished by your indulgence!* No! They grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, * * to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men whose behavior has caused the blood of those sons of Liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own. *They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country, the interior of which, while its frontiers were drenched in blood, has yielded all its little savings to your enlargement. * * * The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the King has; but they are a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if they should be violated."

By this Act all instruments in writing were to be executed on stamped paper, to be purchased from the agents of the British Government. What was worse, all offences against the Act could be tried in any Royal, Marine, or Admiralty, Court throughout the Colonies, however distant from the place where the offence had been committed; thus interfering with that inestimable right of freemen—a trial by jury.

The passage of the Act, which was to go into operation in November (1765), excited throughout the

Colonies the most serious alarm and universal indignation. In some places the bells were tolled, and flags were displayed at half-mast, to denote the feeling of the Community. It was sincerely believed to wound vitally the Constitution of the Country; and to destroy the most sacred principles of liberty. Combinations against its execution were every where formed, and the utmost exertions were used to diffuse through the press, as extensively as possible, a knowledge of the pernicious consequences which must flow from admitting that America could be taxed by a Legislature in which she was not represented.

The Legislature of Virginia happened to be in session when the passage of the Act was first announced, and then it was that Patrick Henry, a young and almost self-educated orator, electrified his brother members by the boldness of the Resolutions which he brought forward, in support of Colonial Rights, and the yet greater boldness with which he supported them. One of these Resolutions asserted the *exclusive* right of the Colonial Assembly to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of that Colony, and that any attempt to vest such a power elsewhere "is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

It was in the course of the impassioned speech which he made in defence of these declarations that Henry uttered the memorable defiance—"Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third"—here the cry of "Treason! Trea-

son!" resounded on all sides—"may profit by their example," said the self-possessed orator, completing his sentence. "If this be treason, make the most of it."

Among those who listened to this fiery outburst was George Washington, then a member of the House of Burgesses. What his opinions on these questions had previously been, we have no means of knowing. His correspondence hitherto had not turned on political, or speculative, themes, being engrossed by either military or agricultural matters, and evincing little anticipation of the vortex of public duties into which he was about to be drawn. All his previous conduct and writings show a loyal devotion to the Crown, with a patriotic attachment to his country. Till now, he had been a loyal British subject, and a thorough Virginian.

Patrick Henry's resolutions, after being slightly modified to accommodate them to the scruples of the Speaker and some of the Members, were adopted. The Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, Lord Fauquier, startled by this patriotic outbreak, dissolved the Assembly, and writs for new elections were issued. But the clarion had sounded, and so entirely did the people concur in the Resolutions that hardly any member who had opposed them was re-elected.

Washington, after the dissolution of the Assembly returned to Mount Vernon, full of anxious thoughts inspired by the political situation, and the scenes which he had witnessed in the House of Burgesses. His recent letters had spoken of the peaceful tranquil-

ity in which he was living. Those now written show that he participated fully in the popular feeling, and that, while he comprehended the arduous struggle which was approaching, his patriotic mind was studying how to prepare for it. In a letter to his wife's uncle, Francis Dandridge, then in London, he says: "The Stamp Act engrosses the conversation of the speculative part of the Colonists, who look upon this unconstitutional method of taxation, as a direful attack upon their liberties, and loudly exclaim against the violation. What may be the result of this and of some other (I think I may add ill-judged) measures, I will not undertake to determine; but this I may venture to affirm that the advantage accruing to the Mother Country, will fall greatly short of the expectation of the Ministry—for certain it is that our whole substance already in a manner flows to Great Britain, and that whatsoever constitutes to lessen our importations must be hurtful to her manufactures. The eyes of our people already begin to be opened, and they will perceive that many luxuries, for which we lavish our substance on Great Britain, can well be dispensed with. This, consequently, will introduce frugality, and be a necessary incitement to industry. * * As to the Stamp Act, regarded in a single view, one of the first bad consequences attending it is, that our Courts of Judicature must inevitably be shut up; for it is impossible, next to impossible, or under present circumstances, that the Act of Parliament could be complied with, were we ever so willing to enforce its execution.

And not to say (which alone would be sufficient) that we have not money enough to pay for the stamps, there are many other cogent reasons, which prove that it would be ineffectual."

A letter of the same date to his agents in London, shows that while deeply interested in the course of public affairs he did not neglect his own personal affairs—nor the interests confided to him. Indeed all his letters respecting his shipments of tobacco, and the returns required in various articles of household and personal use, are perfect models for a man of business. And this may be remarked throughout his whole career, that no pressure of events, nor multiplicity of cares, prevented a clear, steadfast undercurrent of attention to domestic affairs, and to the interest and well-being of all dependent upon him. In the meantime from his quiet abode at Mount Vernon, he seemed to hear the voice of Patrick Henry echoing throughout the land, and raising one Legislative body after another to follow the example of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

At the instigation of Massachusetts, deputies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware assembled at New York in October, and, after declaring the exclusive right of the Colonies to tax themselves, with equal temper and decision addressed the King, and each House of Parliament on the subject of their grievances. The Legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina

not being in session, no deputies from those States appeared in this Colonial Congress, but they each sent similar petitions to England. In the meantime the papers teemed with the most animating exhortations to the people to unite in the defense of their liberty and property, and the Stamp officers were almost universally compelled to resign. In Boston he was hanged in effigy; his windows were broken; and a house intended for his office was torn down, and his effigy burnt in a bonfire, made of the fragments. The Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice, and Sheriff, attempting to allay the tumult, were pelted. The Stamp officer thought himself happy to be hanged only in effigy, and next day publicly renounced the dangerous office. In Virginia, George Mercer publicly refused to serve. The bells were thereupon rung for joy, Williamsburg was illuminated, and Mercer was hailed with the acclamations of the people.

On the first day of November, when the Act was to go in operation, there was great tolling of bells, and burning of effigies in the N w England Colonies. At Boston the ships displayed their flags at half-mast. Many shops were shut. Funeral knells resounded from the steeples, and there was a great *auto-du-fe*, in which the promoters of the Act were paraded, and suffered martyrdom, in effigy.

At New York the printed Act was carried about the streets on a pole, surmounted by a death's head, with a scroll bearing the inscription: "The folly of England, and the ruin of America." The Governor

Colden, fearing the storm, retreated into a fort, and garrisoned it with Marines. The mob broke into his stable, drew out his chariot, put his effigy into it, and paraded it through the streets to the common, (now the Park), where they hung it on a gallows. In the evening it was taken down, put again into the chariot with the devil for a companion, and escorted by the light of torches to the Bowling Green, where the whole pageant, chariot and all, was burnt under the very guns of the Governor's Fort.

These violences received no countenance from the leading members of society, who, however, endeavored to organize a systematic, and determined opposition to the policy of the British Government, and to interest the English people themselves on their side. To this end associations were formed in all the Colonies for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and against the use of those imported from England. To increase their quantity of wool, they determined to kill no lambs, and to use all the means in their power to multiply the flocks of sheep. As a security against the use of stamps, proceedings in the Court of Justice were suspended, and it was earnestly recommended to settle all disputes by arbitration. So effectual was the opposition to the Stamp Act, that there was not a stamp, nor a Stamp officer, to be found throughout the Colonies, on the day that it was to go into operation.

While these transactions were taking place in America, causes entirely unconnected with the affairs of the Colonies produced a total revolution in the

British Cabinet. The Grenville party was succeeded by an administration opposed to taxing the Colonies without their consent, and, through the influence of Pitt, the Stamp Act was repealed (March 18, 1776). The repeal diffused joy and exultation throughout the Colonies. The highest honors were everywhere conferred on those parliamentary leaders who had been active in obtaining a repeal of the Act, and Virginia resolved to erect a monument to His Majesty, George the Third, as an acknowledgement of her high sense of his attention to the rights and petitions of his people.

But it was soon apparent that the differences between England and her colonies had not been settled. The duties on imports still remained unrepealed, and caused great dissatisfaction in the commercial cities of the North; and further aliment for public discontent was furnished by other Acts of Parliament. The British Ministry was again changed, and the new Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a bill for laying duties on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colors, imported into the colonies. The Legislature of New York, on the other hand, gave great offence to the Ministry by refusing to pass such laws for the accommodation of quartered troops as were required by an Act of Parliament; and the powers of the Governor and Assembly were suspended by Parliament until they should comply. Massachusetts, too, was regarded by the Government as factious, because her Assembly not only petitioned for the repeal of the tax

on tea, etc., but issued a circular to the other colonies to join her in seeking redress. Being ordered to rescind the resolution as to the circular, the Assembly refused to do it, and was dissolved. The Governors of other Colonies, by direction of the Ministry, demanded of their Legislatures an assurance that they would not reply to the Massachusetts Circular. These refused, and they also were dissolved.

Nothing, however, produced a more powerful effect upon the public mind than certain military demonstrations at Boston. In consequence of repeated collisions at that place between the people and the collectors of customs, two Regiments were held in readiness to embark for Boston, whenever Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, or the General, should give the word. "Had this force been landed in Boston six months ago," writes the Commander of the fleet, "I am perfectly persuaded no remonstrance or address would have been sent from the other colonies, and that all would have been tolerably quiet and orderly, at this time, throughout America."

Tidings at last reached Boston that these troops had been embarked, and were coming to overawe the people. What was to be done? The General Court had been dissolved, and the Governor refused to convene it without the royal command. A convention, therefore, from the various towns met at Boston on the 22d of September (1766) to devise measures for the public safety. While the Convention was still in session the two Regiments arrived with seven armed ves-

sels. "I am very confident," writes Commodore Hood, when leaving Halifax, "that the spirited measures, now pursuing, will soon effect order in America."

They only added fuel to the fire. A town meeting was held, and it resolved that the King had no right to send troops thither without the consent of the Assembly; that Great Britain had broken the original compact, and that, therefore, the King's officers had no longer any business there.

The Selectmen accordingly refused to find quarters for the troops in the town; and the Council refused to find barracks for them. Such of them, therefore, as had tents were encamped on the Common. Others, by the Governor's orders, were quartered in the State House, and others in Faneuil Hall, to the great indignation of the people, who were grievously scandalized at seeing field-pieces planted in front of the State House and sentinels at its doors; and, above all, at having the sacred quiet of a New England Sabbath broken by the noise of fife and drum, and soldiers.

CHAPTER XIII.

PEACEABLE RESISTANCE.

As yet Washington took no prominent part in the public agitation. Indeed he was never disposed to put himself forward on popular occasions; his innate modesty forbade it. It was others, who knew his worth, that called him forth; but when once he engaged in any public measure, he devoted himself to it with conscientiousness and zeal. At present he remained a quiet but vigilant observer of events from his eagle nest at Mount Vernon. He had a few neighbors, who accorded with him in sentiment. One of the oldest of these was George Mason. His friend, the Fairfaxes, tho' liberal in feeling and opinion, were too strong in their devotion to the crown, to sympathize with the opposition to the Ministry.

But now Washington began to be drawn into the current. A letter written on the fifth of April 1769 to George Mason shows the position which he then occupied. In the previous year the merchants of the principal Northern cities had agreed to suspend for a time the importation of all articles subject to taxation. Washington's letter is emphatic in support of this measure. "At a time" says he, "when our lordly masters will be satisfied with nothing less than the

deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and to maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question. That no man should scruple or hesitate a moment in defense of so valuable a blessing is clearly my opinion. Yet arms should be the last resource, *le dernier ressort*. We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the Throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far their attention to our rights and interests is to be awakened, or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried."

"The Northern Colonies, it appears are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be carried pretty generally into execution. * * That there will be a difficulty attending it, everywhere, from clashing interests, and selfish, designing men, ever attentive to their own gain, and watchful of every turn that can assist their lucrative views, cannot be denied; and in the tobacco colonies, where the trade is so diffused, and in a manner wholly conducted by factors for their principals at home, these difficulties are certainly enhanced, but I think not insurmountably increased, if the gentlemen in the several counties will be at some trouble to explain matters to the people, and stimulate them to cordial agreements to purchase none but certain enumerated

articles out of any of the stores, after a definite period, and neither import, nor purchase any themselves. * * I can see but one class of persons—(the merchants excepted) who will not, or ought not, to wish well to the scheme; namely, those who live genteelly and hospitably on clear estates. Such as these, were they not to consider the valuable object in view and the good of others, might think it hard to be curtailed in their living and enjoyments.”

This was precisely the class to which Washington himself belonged; and *he* was ready and willing to make the sacrifices required.

Mason, in his reply, concurred with him in opinion. “Our all is at stake” said he, “and the little conveniences and comforts of life, when set in competition with out liberty, ought to be rejected—not with reluctance, but with pleasure.”

There was at this time no thought, or desire on the part of either of them of separation for the Mother Country; but only a fixed determination to be placed on an equality of rights and privileges with her other children.

A single word in the passage cited from Washington’s letter, evinces the chord which vibrated in the American bosom. He incidentally speaks of England as *home*. It was the familiar term with which she was usually indicated by those of English descent. “How easy” says Irving, “it would have then been for her to have rallied back the affection of her colonial children! They asked for nothing but what they

were entitled to, and what she had taught them to prize as their dearest inheritance."

The result of the correspondence between Washington and Mason, was the draft by the latter of a plan of an association, the members of which were to pledge themselves not to import, or use, any article of British merchandise, or manufacture, subject to duty. This paper Washington was to submit to the House of Burgesses at the approaching session in the month of May, (1769.)

The Legislature opened on this occasion with a brilliant pageant. While military force was arrayed to overcome the republican Puritans of New England, it was thought best to dazzle the aristocratical descendants of the Cavaliers, by the reflex of regal splendor. Lord Botetourt, a nobleman of the most conciliating and popular manner, had recently been appointed Governor of that Colony—the only Governor who had appeared there within memory. It was supposed that his titled rank would have its effect, and besides, to prepare him for occasions of ceremony, a coach of State was presented to him by the King. He was allowed, moreover, the quantity of plate usually given to Ambassadors.

His opening of the Session was in the style of the royal opening of Parliament. He proceeded in due parade from his dwelling to the Capitol in his State Coach drawn by six milk-white horses. Having delivered his speech according to royal form, he returned home with the same pomp and circumstance.

The Virginia legislators penetrated the intention

of this pompous ceremonial, and looked on with a smile. Sterner matters occupied their thoughts. They took into immediate consideration the state of the Colony, and passed unanimously several resolutions asserting, in the most decided terms, the exclusive right of that Assembly to impose taxes on the inhabitants of his Majesty's dominion of Virginia, and their undoubted right to petition for a redress of grievances, and to obtain the concurrence of other colonies in such petitions. Alluding to a joint address of the Houses of Parliament to the King, assuring him of their support in any further measures for the due execution of the laws in Massachusetts and beseeching him that all persons charged with treason within that Colony might be sent to England for trial, the Burgesses further resolved that all persons charged with the commission of any offence within any of the American Colonies, were entitled to a trial before the tribunals of their country, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding therein, and that to seize such persons and transport them beyond sea for trial derogated in a high degree, from the rights of British subjects; as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury of the vicinage, as well as the right of summoning and producing witnesses on such trial, would be taken away from the party accused.

Intelligence of these proceedings having reached the Governor, he repaired to the Capitol, summoned the Speaker and Members to the Council Chamber, and addressed them in these words:

“ Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly.”

This measure did not produce the desired effect. The Burgesses convened at a private house. Peyton Randolph, their late Speaker, was elected Moderator. Washington now brought forward the articles of association which George Mason had drawn up for the occasion. It formed the groundwork of an instrument which was signed by every person present; and which pledged them neither to import, nor use, any goods, merchandise, or manufactures, taxed by Parliament to raise a revenue in America. This paper, being recommended by the Burgesses to the people, was subscribed almost universally throughout the province. Washington adhered to it rigorously. The articles proscribed by it were never to be seen in his house, and his agent in London was ordered not to ship any of them to him.

Before the Assembly was dissolved by the Governor it ordered its Resolves to be communicated to every other Legislature in America, and the concurrence of all to be asked.

The voice of the Old Dominion roused “ the most temperate Province ” of Pennsylvania from its slumbers to express, through its merchants, its approval of what had been done. Delaware did still better. Its Assembly adopted the Virginia Resolves, word for word, and in due time every Colony south of Virginia followed the example.

Massachusetts had not only, like Virginia, to assert the rights of America, but also to effect the removal of the troops from Boston, "into whose very streets and lanes" about two thousand men had been sent by the English Government. Her General Court, which had not met for ten months, convened on the 31st of May (1769). A committee immediately, before even electing a Clerk or a Speaker, complained to the Governor (Bernard) that it was impossible to do business with dignity and freedom while the town was invested by sea and by land, and a military guard posted at the State House with cannon pointed at its door, and requested him to remove such forces "out of the port and beyond the gates of the city" during the Session of the Assembly.

"Gentlemen" said Bernard in reply, "I have no authority over his Majesty's ships in this port, or his troops in this town; nor can I give any orders for the removal of the same."

The General Court persisted in their refusal to transact business in the midst of an armed force; and the Governor thereupon adjourned their session to Cambridge. There he sent them a message requiring funds for the payment of the troops, and quarters for their accomodation. To this demand the House, after grave deliberation, made answer that they would "*never* make provision for the purposes mentioned." They were, thereupon, again prorogued, to meet in Boston on the 10th of January 1770.

In the meantime the pledges of the non-importation

association, being generally observed throughout the Colonies, that policy produced on British commerce the effect which Washington had anticipated, and Parliament was incessantly importuned by the British merchants to save them from ruin. This body had to yield, and the Ministry of the Duke of Grafton came to an end. The reins of government passed into the hands of Lord North, a man of limited capacity, but a favorite of the King, whose will he implicitly obeyed.

Parliament now passed an Act repealing all the duties laid in 1767, *except that on tea*. In vain was it insisted by some that this single exception, while it would produce no revenue, would keep alive the whole cause of contention; Lord North would not be convinced, or rather he knew that the King would not yield the right to tax the Colonists. "The properest time" said he, "to exert our right of taxation is when the right is denied. To temporize is to yield, and the authority of the Mother Country, if it be not supported now, will be relinquished forever. *A total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet.*"

On the very day that this Act was passed, (March 1770) a collision occurred in Boston between the troops and some of the people. The alarm bells rang; a mob assembled; the soldiers finally fired, and five persons were killed. The wildest excitement ensued. To calm it the troops were removed from the town.

In Virginia the public discontent, which had been greatly allayed by the conciliatory conduct of Lord

Botetourt, now broke out with greater violence than ever. His lordship, distressed by the failure of the Government to repeal all the taxes, as he had in its name promised, succumbed to a fever, which was aggravated by his anxiety and chagrin, and died, leaving behind him a name endeared to the Virginians by his amiable manners, and above all by his zealous intercession for their rights.

About this time Washington made an expedition to the Ohio, to look after the lands which had been granted to him, and to the men who had taken part in the French and Indian war. His party consisted of Dr. Craik, and their three negro servants. They went down the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, and thence returned home, after having had a great number of adventures, some of which were full of danger.

The new Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, was soon involved in controversies with the Virginia House of Burgesses on account of which that body was prorogued from time to time till March 1st 1773. Washington was prompt in his attendance, and foremost among the patriotic members. One of their first acts was the appointment of a Committee of Eleven to look after the general affairs of the Colonies, and to maintain a correspondence with similar committees. This plan was adopted by all the Colonies, and these Committees became the Executive Power of the Patriots.

In the midst of the public commotion two events

disturbed the tranquil life of Mount Vernon. Mrs. Washington's daughter, Miss Custis, died in the 17th year of her age, (June 1773), and in the following February, Mrs. Washington's son was married to Miss Calvert of Baltimore. He was the grandfather of the wife of General Robert E. Lee.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY. THE PORT BILL. THE FIRST
AMERICAN CONGRESS. THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

The refusal of the Colonies to use tea lessened the demand for it so much that a very great quantity accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company. In response to that company's entreaties, the Ministry reduced the tax to the nearest trifle, and thereupon the company consigned large quantities to its agents in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and other places. This brought matters to a crisis. If the tea should be landed, the tories would buy it and the right of England to tax the colonies would be admitted. The patriots felt therefore that the plan was a direct attack upon their liberties, and everywhere resolved to oppose it. They declared that whoever should directly or indirectly countenance it, was an enemy to his country. From New York and Philadelphia the tea-ships were sent back to London, without unloading. In Charleston the tea was unloaded but stored in damp cellars, where it perished. In Boston, a number of the citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded the ships in the night, (December 18 1773) broke open all the chests of tea, and emptied their contents into the sea. The whole was done calmly, and in perfect order.

The English Government was greatly incensed against all the Colonies by these acts, but chiefly against Boston. A bill (known as the Boston Port Bill) was immediately passed prohibiting the landing and shipping of goods wares and merchandize at Boston, and removing the Custom House to Salem. Another bill enacted that all Massachusetts officials should be appointed by the Crown and hold office during the King's pleasure. Another law enacted that persons, indicted for capital offences committed in political riots, should be sent to England for trial.

The Legislature of Virginia was in session. Washington reached Williamsburg on the 16th of May, and dined on the same day with the Governor. In common with other Burgesses, he tendered Lady Dunmore a ball to be given on the 27th. Before that day arrived, news of the Boston Port Bill came. The fact, being announced in the House of Burgesses, produced the greatest indignation. A protest against it was entered on the journals, and a resolution was adopted (May 24 1774) setting apart the 1st of June as a day of fasting humiliation and prayer. On the next morning the Governor dissolved the House. But its members did not disperse. They met, (as they had already, on a similar occasion, done,) passed a resolution denouncing the Port Bill, and proposed a General Congress, which should meet annually and deliberate on such measures as the united interests of the Colonies might require.

Notwithstanding Lord Dunmore's abrupt dissolu-

tion of the House of Burgesses, its members still continued on courteous terms with him, and the ball to Lady Dunmore was celebrated with unwavering gallantry on the 27th of May. As to Washington, widely as he differed from the Governor on public questions, his intimacy with him remained unbroken. He dined and passed the evening of the 25th at his lordship's, breakfasted with him on the 26th, and attended the ball on the 27th. On the 29th he attended another meeting of Burgesses, which issued a call for a State convention to meet on the 1st of August, in order to take into consideration a proposition which a town-meeting in Boston had made for the formation of a general league suspending all trade with Great Britain. He was still in Williamsburg on the 1st of June, and notes in his Diary that he fasted rigidly, and attended the services appointed in church.

Washington now took a leading and conspicuous part in preparing Virginia for the crisis. He presided over the meeting held in Fairfax County, for the purpose of appointing a delegate to the State convention, which the Burgesses had called, and was unanimously chosen to represent his county on that occasion. The meeting did not stop here. It denounced the Boston Port Bill, and declared that Virginia would stand by Massachusetts in her extremity. A subscription was also taken up for the relief of the oppressed people of Boston. Washington himself headed it with a gift of £50. South Carolina had been the first in this good work,

having, early in June, sent 200 barrels of rice, and promised 200 barrels more. North Carolina had quickly followed with a gift of £2,000; and all New England was giving rye, flour, peas, cattle, sheep, oil, fish, and money. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Canada poured in their contributions, and there was not a Colony which did not express, in this practical way, its sympathy with the suffering people of Boston, who, under the lead of Samuel Adams, were braving the power of England.

The Virginia Convention met at Williamsburg on the 1st of August. Washington presented a series of patriotic resolutions, in support of which he spoke with practical eloquence, declaring his readiness to raise one thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march at their head to the relief of Boston. The resolutions were adopted, and Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, were appointed delegates to represent Virginia in the General Congress.

When the time for the meeting of that body drew near, Edmund Pendleton and Patrick Henry, came to Mount Vernon, and went thence with Washington, on horseback, to Philadelphia, where the Congress convened on the 5th of September 1774. All the Colonies were represented, except Georgia. Peyton Randolph presided. After adopting a declaration of Rights; a petition to the King; addresses to the people of Great Britain, and of Canada; and a memorial

to the inhabitants of the British Colonies—papers, whose “decency, firmness and wisdom” attracted the attention, and won the applause of Edmund Burke, and the great Earl of Chatham—this august body of patriots adjourned. Washington exercised a great influence over its proceedings. Patrick Henry, being asked whom he considered the greatest man in Congress, replied, “If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor.”

On the adjournment of Congress, Washington returned to Mount Vernon. Things were rapidly changing there. George William Fairfax, who was a royalist, had already returned to England to enjoy his estates in that country. His house, left to the care of an overseer, was accidentally burned down, and the hospitable associations between Mount Vernon and Belvoir were at an end forever.

In February 1775 the Earl of Chatham proposed a bill for the pacification of the Colonies, but it was voted down; and then Lord North disclosed his plan of procedure against them; which was to send a greater army thither, to interdict the New Foundland fisheries to the New England Colonies, and to restrict their foreign trade to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies.

War was fast becoming inevitable. General Gage, who now commanded the British forces in America,

now fortified Charleston Neck, which connected the city of Boston with the mainland, and seized all the ammunition which he could find. The people of Massachusetts organized themselves as minute-men. Their Legislature appointed a Committee of Safety, with John Hancock as President, and authorized this committee to call out the militia. A committee was also appointed to procure military stores. Artemas Ward and Seth Pomeroy were appointed generals.

A detachment of 800 or 900 men was sent by General Gage, at night, to capture some arms and military stores at Concord. The patriots determined to prevent them. The British soon learned from the ringing of bells and the firing of guns that the people had taken the alarm. When they reached Lexington, six miles from Concord, before sunrise, they found about 100 minute-men under arms. When these refused to disperse the regulars fired upon them, killing eight, and wounding others. The detachment then marched to Concord and destroyed some gun carriages, powder and balls. A party of militia approached, and were fired upon by the regulars—two were killed. A skirmish ensued, and the regulars retreated, with the loss of several killed and wounded, and some prisoners. The people poured in from the surrounding country, and irregular fighting was carried on all day. In the march back to Boston the British were greatly harassed by the fire from the houses, and fences, and walls, along the way; and would probably have been cut off entirely, but for re-inforcements which Gage

sent to their relief. Their loss during the day, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was 273. The Provincials lost about sixty.

The war had now begun, (19 April 1775.) The news flew over the land as fast as expresses could carry it. The militia of New England hurried to Boston, and soon formed an army of 20,000 men. The South Carolinans took the Arsenal at Charleston, and armed their militia. Georgia joined the other Colonies, and seized the powder in the King's magazines. And the people of Mecklenburg County in North Carolina virtually declared their independence (20 May 1775.) Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold set out to capture the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Forcing their way in, at sunrise (May 10 1775,) Allen demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga, "in the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." It was surrendered, and what had cost England £8,000,000 was won in ten minutes by a few raw militia.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BRITISH DRIVEN FROM BOSTON. THE AMERICANS FROM NEW YORK.

A few hours after the surrender of Ticenderoga the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. They formed no confederacy; they were not an Executive Government; they were not even a Legislative body. They had not one civil officer to carry out their command, nor power to appoint one, nor was one soldier enlisted in their name. They had no treasury; nor had they authority to lay a tax, or to borrow money. But they *acted* nevertheless, and it was their destiny to cement a Union and to form a Nation.

They ordered the enlistment of troops, the construction of forts, and the purchase of munitions of war, and army supplies. To provide the means, they emitted Continental money to the amount of \$3,000,000. Washington was Chairman of all Committees for Military affairs.

News came that Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne had landed at Boston with more British troops, and that other parts of the Country were to be invaded. The only patriot forces in the field were the New Englanders around Boston. Their commander, General Ward, a most estimable man, was known to be incompetent

for such a high trust. John Adams explained the composition and character of the New England Army, its merits and its wants; the necessity of its being adopted by all the Colonies and the consequent propriety that Congress should name its General. Then, speaking for his constituents, he pointed out Washington as the man for the station. Samuel Adams seconded his colleague; and on the 15th of June, Washington was unanimously elected Commander-in-Chief. The fact was formally announced to him the next day in Congress. Rising in his place he briefly expressed his high and grateful sense of the honor conferred upon him, and his sincere devotion to the cause. "But" said he, "lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, that I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit of it. I will keep a true account of my expenses. These I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all that I desire."

Washington was then forty-three years old, a little more than six feet high, broad-chested, and well proportioned, with a stately presence, wherein dignity and ease were charmingly blended. Robust of constitution, enured to hardships, and strictly temperate,

there were few that could excel him in strength of arm and power of endurance. His complexion was florid, his hair dark brown, his head perfectly round. His deeply-set, dark-blue eyes had an expression of resignation, and an earnestness that was almost sadness. Courage was so natural to him, that it was rarely spoken of to his praise. No one, at any moment of his life, ever discovered in him the least shrinking in danger; and he had a hardihood for daring which escaped observation, because it was so enveloped in calmness and wisdom. He had, at the same time, a cheerfulness of disposition, which not even the vastness of his responsibilities, and of his arduous labors, could entirely crush out. He was unostentatiously liberal, kindly, compassionate and sympathetic, and would have willingly given his life for the good of his country. His mind resembled a well-ordered commonwealth; his passions, which had the intensest vigor, were governed by his reason; and, with all the fiery quickness of his spirit, his impetuous and massive will was held in check by consummate judgment.

His understanding was lucid, and his judgment accurate. No detail was too minute for his personal inquiry and continued supervision; and, at the same time, he comprehended events in their widest aspects and relations. He never seemed above the object of his attention, and was always equal, without an effort, to the solution of the highest questions, even when he had no precedent for his guidance.

It was the most wonderful accomplishment of this

man, that—placed upon the largest theatre of events, at the head of the greatest revolution in human affairs—he never failed to do all that was possible, and always bounded his aspirations by that which was possible.

No philosopher of the 18th century was more firm than he in the support of freedom of religious opinion; none more tolerant or remote from bigotry; but belief in God and trust in His ever-ruling power, formed the essence of his character.

Of a retiring modesty and habitual reserve, his ambition was no more than the consciousness of power, and was always subordinate to his sense of duty. He loved fame, but neither the fear of censure, nor the prospect of applause could swerve him from rectitude; and it is his peculiar greatness that in public trust he used power solely for the public good.

This is also the praise of Washington, that never in the tide of time has any man lived who has had in so great a degree the almost divine faculty to command the confidence of his fellow men, and to rule the willing.*

On the 20th of June, 1775, he received his commission, and on the next day set out for the army at Boston.

The British had been reinforced by 10,000 men, under Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Henry Clinton. Thus strengthened, Gage determined to take the offensive, and first of all to fortify Bunker's Hill.

*Bancroft.

To anticipate them, Colonel Prescott was sent with 1200 men, by General Ward, to seize that height. This detachment left Cambridge about 9 o'clock at night, and occupied Breed's Hill instead, and began to intrench. In the morning the British discovered them. Gates immediately sent 2,500 men to dislodge them. Twice the British were driven back, but finally the Americans had exhausted their ammunition, and were forced to retreat. Their loss was 449 in killed and wounded; among them, General Warren. The British lost 1054 officers and men, killed and wounded.

A fortnight later Washington took command of the army. It numbered 14,500 men, chiefly undisciplined volunteers. His first care, while continuing the investment of Boston, was to organize, drill and discipline his troops, to provide arms and military stores of all kinds, and to strengthen his works. He called, at the same time, for reinforcements enough to give him an effective force of 20,000. The winter was far advanced before he thought it prudent to attempt to drive the enemy out of Boston, and even then there was delay. At length, however, on the 2d of March (1776), a heavy bombardment and cannonade was commenced on the town and on the British lines, and was repeated the two succeeding nights. On the night of the 4th of March, immediately after the firing had begun, a considerable force under Major-General Thomas, crossing from Roxbury, took possession of Dorchester Heights, which gave command

of the harbor to the Americans. When morning dawned the heights had been strongly fortified. General Howe, who had succeeded Gage in command of the British, ordered Lord Percy, with 3,000 men, to dislodge the Americans. This detachment was scattered by a storm; and before another could be sent, the works had been made so strong, that it was thought unadvisable to attempt to force them. The British, therefore, evacuated the town on the 17th of March (1776). An American force entered the town, and General Putnam was placed in command.

Great was the rejoicing of the Americans. Congress voted its thanks, and those of the thirteen United Colonies, to General Washington and to the officers and soldiers under his command, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the event, and presented to his excellency.

The patriots gained another great success at the South. In January General Clinton had sailed from Boston for New York; but finding General Charles Lee already there, by order of Washington, to meet him, he had continued his voyage southward to co-operate with the royal Governors of the Southern Colonies. Being joined by a fleet under Sir Peter Parker, he proceeded against Charleston; but after trying in vain for three weeks to take the forts, was compelled to put to sea.

Immediately after the evacuation of Boston, General Washington, who had long believed that the grand efforts of the English army would be directed

towards the Hudson, hastened with the main body of his army to New York. One of his first measures was to break off all intercourse between the inhabitants and the British ships lying in the harbor. He then set to work to strengthen his position in every way. He soon discovered that his army was wholly incompetent for the great purposes for which it had been raised. His effective force was much below the estimate which had been made, and was wanting in arms, ammunition, tents, and clothes. Congress accordingly called out 13,500 militia, to be furnished by the adjoining states, for the defense of New York; and 10,000 by Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, for the defense of these States.

Washington was greatly embarrassed by the number of tories in New York. They even went so far as to form a plot to seize him and deliver him up to the British. The Mayor of the city and some of the General's Body Guard were concerned in it. By a timely discovery the scheme was defeated, and some of those implicated suffered death.

In the beginning of July, (1776), General Howe and the troops under him, landed on Staten Island. It was the most formidable armament which had then been seen on this continent. Admiral Lord Howe, the brother of the General, arrived on the 12th with his fleet. Washington's force did not exceed 10,000 men at the beginning of July. It was increased by subsequent reinforcements to 27,000 men, of whom about 20,000 were fit for duty. A part was encamped on Long

Island under General Putnam. On the 27th of August the British attacked the Americans on Long Island, with a greatly superior force. The latter were driven back upon Brooklyn with great loss. Generals Sullivan and Sterling, with over 1,000 men, were captured. Washington, who was in New York when the battle commenced, crossed over to Brooklyn while it was going on; but in time only to witness the hopeless discomfiture of his men. The next day he sent over reinforcements, and at midnight on the 29th, silently withdrew his whole army to New York under a dense fog, with the loss of only a few pieces of heavy artillery.

The manner in which this critical operation was executed, and the circumstances under which it was performed, added greatly to Washington's reputation, in the opinion of all military men. Without loss to withdraw a defeated, dispirited and undisciplined army from the view of an experienced and able officer, and to transport them in safety across a wide river, under the guns of a great and vigilant fleet, require talents of no ordinary kind, and the retreat from Long Island may be justly ranked among those skilful manœuvres which distinguish a master in the art of war.

Congress had meanwhile adopted (July 4, 1776), the Declaration of Independence.

The success of the British on Long Island greatly dispirited the army. The militia went home by companies and by regiments. Washington expressed to Congress, with the deepest concern, his want of confidence in the

generality of the troops, and urged the enlistment of men "for the war." On the 15th of September, having removed his supplies from the city, he evacuated it on the approach of the British, and took position at Kingsbridge, at the northern extremity of Manhattan Island. From this he was driven on the 28th of October, and finally crossed the Hudson in order to be in position to defend Philadelphia, which was now threatened. He was followed by the British under Cornwallis, who pressed him closely as he retreated across New Jersey to Trenton, destroying the bridges along his route, and finally crossed the Delaware, (December 8th, 1776).

This was the period when the American cause was at its lowest point of depression. The minds of all were filled with gloom and apprehension. But Washington bore bravely and manfully up. His efforts redoubled with his difficulties, and however desperate he may have thought the condition of his army he neither said nor did anything which showed a want of confidence. Then it was that, when asked what he would do, if the enemy took Philadelphia, he answered, "We will retreat beyond the Susquehannah, and, if necessary, beyond the Alleghany."

Howe being unable to transport his troops across the Delaware, went into winter quarters at Princeton, Trenton, Bordentown, and other places in New Jersey, while the Americans encamped in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.

Congress being thoroughly aroused to a sense of its

duties, now authorized the enlistment of a greatly increased force, *for the war*, and empowered Washington to call on the States for militia; to appoint and remove all officers under the rank of Brigadier-General; to impress supplies for his army, paying a reasonable price therefor; and to arrest and imprison any one who should refuse to take Continental money. It invested him, in fact, with dictatorial powers for the period of six months.

In this moment of general despondency, Washington had the bold and lucky thought to attempt offensive operations. Knowing that the British were encamped in different towns, somewhat remote from each other, he resolved to attack them. Crossing the Delaware, Christmas night, (1776), with 2,400 men, he fell suddenly upon about 1500 Hessians, who were posted at Trenton. In half an hour their commander and thirty men were slain; all their stores and 946 prisoners were taken. Not a man was lost by the Americans. Washington then recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners.

This bold and brilliant stroke revived the spirits of his army, and of the people. To profit by this fact, he returned to, and reoccupied, Trenton, on the last day of the year, (1776). But his difficulties were almost insurmountable. The army funds were exhausted. Congress had no credit. It was only by the pledge of their private fortunes by Washington and other officers, and by the liberality and active exertions of Robert Morris, that means were obtained

for the immediate and urgent uses of the army. He had only 3,000 men, mostly raw and inefficient. Cornwallis was sent to drive him beyond the Delaware. At night the armies which had been skirmishing, were separated only by the little river Assinpink. Cornwallis, having greatly the advantage in numbers, as well as in discipline and experience, counted on certain victory in the morning. Keeping up his camp fires in order to deceive him, Washington by a masterly manœuvre, eluded him during the night, and when morning broke appeared unexpectedly before Princeton, where he found three British Regiments on their march to join Cornwallis. Washington immediately attacked them. His advance, led by General Hugh Mercer, was thrown into confusion when that brave officer fell, mortally wounded; but Washington, bringing up his main body in person, restored the fortunes of the day, and the enemy was put to flight. The abandoned camp in front of him, and the distant cannonade, first revealed to Cornwallis the escape of the Americans. He hurried in pursuit, but was too late. Washington reached Morristown, and occupied a position too strong to be taken by the English force.

Nothing could have been more opportune than these successes at Trenton and Princeton, to raise the drooping spirits of the Americans. It excited astonishment everywhere, that an army which appeared to be broken down by a succession of defeats, and ill supplied with everything necessary for its efficiency,

should turn upon a victorious and superior enemy, regain the ground which it had lost, and assume the offensive. It raised the military character of Washington very high, both in Europe and America, and gained for him the title of the American Fabius.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence Congress had sent Franklin and two other commissioners to France to negotiate an alliance with that country, and to obtain money for the urgent wants of the army. They were not officially recognized, but received much encouragement, and were aided with money, arms, clothing, and other army supplies. Many European officers tendered their services through them to the Republic; and among these the young Marquis de la Fayette. His departure was opposed by his family, by the King, and by the British Minister. But he bought a vessel, landed at Charleston (1777), was coolly received by Congress, and warmly by Washington. With him came the Baron DeKalb and Pulaski.

During this summer (1777), the flag, "the stars and stripes," was adopted by Congress.

An invasion from Canada, supported by a movement up the Hudson from the City of New York, was the main feature of the British campaign for the year 1777. Sir John Burgoyne was intrusted with the execution of it. The first event of the campaign was the seizure of Fort Ticonderoga. This fort was held by General St. Clair with 3,000 men. But when the British took possession of a hill over-

looking the fort, the garrison abandoned it, and withdrew into Vermont. The British pursued, and overtook them at Hubbardton; but met such a fire as compelled them to give up the pursuit.

The Americans fell back to Fort Edward, where General Schuyler took command, and led them to the mouth of the Mohawk river. While on his way in pursuit, Burgoyne sent Colonel Baum with five hundred men, to capture some stores at Bennington. The Vermont militia, under General Stark, completely routed them, killing or capturing nearly every man. Stark then attacked and drove back, with loss of their artillery and baggage, reinforcements which Burgoyne had sent forward to Baum.

An expedition, which Burgoyne had sent against Fort Schuyler, was routed about the same time by the New York militia under General Herkimer.

Burgoyne's force was now reduced to 6,000 men. Reinforcements were pouring in to the American camp, and Washington had sent thither some of his best officers, Arnold, Lincoln and Morgan. General Horatio Gates was in command.

The armies came together at Stillwater, on the 19th of September, (1777). A skirmish began, and grew into a general and bloody battle. The Americans withdrew at nightfall to their camp. The British bivouacked upon the field of battle; but their condition was desperate. More than two weeks passed before any further action took place.

Meantime, Burgoyne was falling short of provisions,

and his Indian and Canadian allies were deserting. On the other hand Gates' force was increasing. At last, believing that some of the American troops had been sent off to meet Clinton, who was advancing up the Hudson, Burgoyne began a second battle at Stillwater on the 7th of October, (1777). He was badly defeated and driven from his position. In this battle Arnold distinguished himself by his reckless daring. The Americans pursued the defeated army as far as Saratoga, and then Burgoyne, finding his situation hopeless, surrendered. On the 17th of October (1777), his army, about 5,800 men, became prisoners of war, and a large quantity of arms, and other valuable stores passed into the hands of the Americans. The American Army consisted of about 13,000 men. The event excited the liveliest joy throughout America, and many regarded it as decisive of the contest. It was the more grateful to the patriots because the army under Washington was suffering reverses.

Howe, who had withdrawn his forces entirely from New Jersey, in June, now embarked nearly 20,000 men in 300 ships, and entering Chesapeake Bay, landed at their head, for the purpose of taking Philadelphia. Washington took position behind the Brandywine, a small stream. Here he was attacked by superior numbers, and driven back with the loss of 1,200 men, (September 11, 1777). Lafayette was severely wounded. Next day Washington retreating towards Philadelphia, took position at Germantown. On the 15th he moved out to attack the British camp, but a

storm prevented a battle. Howe entered Philadelphia on the 26th of September. Upon this, Congress removed first to Lancaster, and then to York, where it continued to meet till the capital was abandoned by the British, the next summer.

One of Howe's first movements was to send a large force against Forts Mifflin, and Mercer, on the Delaware. Washington thinking that this would be a good time to attack the remaining forces, which were mostly at Germantown, moved his army in three divisions and fell upon the British. At first the attack seemed successful, but the Americans were eventually forced to retreat with great loss.

Howe having captured the Delaware forts, now went into winter quarters at Philadelphia, and Washington at Valley Forge, (December 11). Here he was near his stores at Reading, and protected Congress which was sitting at York. His troops suffered severely for the want of food, clothes, and every other necessary. Many deserted, and those who remained needed all their patriotism, and all the power of their commander, to make their condition bearable. Some of Washington's enemies blamed him for the reverses which his army had sustained, and strove to have Charles Lee, or Gates put in his place; but the Army and the Country saw that if Washington had not been successful in the field, he had always fought at a disadvantage, with raw troops, at once inexperienced, ill-armed, and inferior in numbers to the enemy; that he had pointed out the difficulties, and their remedy; and

that if he had not been able, with insufficient means, to obtain victory, he had at least prevented defeat, when danger was most imminent; and had by his wise and untiring efforts, finally made the American troops a match for the well-appointed veterans of Europe.

During this winter (1777-8) Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation, though they were not ratified by the States till 1781. A treaty was also made with France early in 1778. At this time, Baron von Steuben, an officer of Frederick the Great, offered his services to Congress, and was, at the request of Washington, made Inspector-General of the Army, and in that important position did a great deal towards drilling and disciplining the troops.

No important action took place until the summer of this year (1778). Then the British, fearing that a French fleet would occupy the Delaware, left Philadelphia for New York. Their army of 14,000 men was now commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. Washington put off in pursuit, and on the 27th of June was within five miles of them at Monmouth, New Jersey. General Lee was ordered on the 28th to attack. He did so, but the bold attitude of the British regulars, the disadvantageous character of the ground, the unsatisfactory movements of the command, and want of confidence in his own troops, induced Lee to withdraw and wait for the main body. Cornwallis pressed vigorously on the retreating lines, and threw them into great disorder. At this crisis, Washington rode up and harshly accosted Lee. Then checking the retreat he

drew up the discomfitted troops in line, brought up the main body of his army, and renewed the battle. The British were driven back, but the Americans did not pursue, as night was approaching and the soldiers much exhausted by the hard fighting and the great heat. Lee's men had been under fire nearly all day; and he himself had displayed great gallantry and skill after their flight had been arrested. Washington intended to renew the battle in the morning, but the British retreated during the night, and finally reached a safe position at Nevasink, having lost two thousand men by casualties and desertion in their retreat through New Jersey. Washington followed and took position at White Plains, whereupon Clinton withdrew to New York.

In July a French fleet under the Count d'Estaing arrived off Newport; but, after making some demonstrations, and being disabled in a storm which compelled it to go to Boston for repairs, it sailed in the autumn, to the West Indies, without having done anything.

In July Major Butler, a tory, led a company of British and Indians into the beautiful Wyoming Valley, among the mountains of Pennsylvania. They captured the fort that was there, and massacred the garrison. They then fell upon the helpless people, slew and scalped all they could lay their hands upon, men, women, and children, and laid waste and ravaged the whole country.

It was during this winter (1778-9) that George

Rogers Clarke, with a force of Kentuckians, acting under authority of Virginia, drove the British out of the country between the Ohio and the Lakes. This whole region was then annexed to Virginia under the name of the County of Illinois.

The operations in America during 1779 were small, but not insignificant. In the North the British held only New York, Newport, and a few other places. In the South they had just taken and still held Savannah, and were gradually occupying all of Georgia. They had attempted to take Charleston, but had been driven back by Rutledge, Moulton and Pulaski. They burnt 130 merchant vessels in the James, and an unfinished frigate, and eight smaller vessels of war, at Portsmouth, where Virginia had established a Navy Yard; and then, having inflicted \$2,000,000 of damage, returned to New York with 3,000 hogsheads of tobacco.

It was in this year that John Paul Jones distinguished the birth of the American Navy by his brilliant sea-fights off the English Coast.

During 1780 the war was carried on chiefly in the South, whither Clinton, leaving sufficient forces for the protection of New York, now went. On the 11th of May, he took Charleston, after an obstinate resistance, and aided by that brilliant soldier, Colonel Tarleton, completed the conquest of South Carolina. After which Clinton returned to New York (3d June 1780), leaving Cornwallis with 4,000 men to complete the conquest of the South. In the troubled times that

followed Sumter and Marion made themselves forever famous as partisan leaders.

Gates was now placed in command of the American armies in the South, (July 25). He advanced towards Camden, South Carolina with 4,000 men, (many of whom were unfit for duty,) hoping to surprise the British there, under Cornwallis and Rawdon. Cornwallis set out on the 15th to surprise Gates. The two armies stumbled upon each other after midnight. As soon as day dawned the battle began, (August 16, 1780). The militia fled from the charge of the bayonet. DeKalb was killed. Every corps was shattered and dispersed, and the Americans were swept from the field. Gates retired into North Carolina. He was then relieved of the command, and General Nathaniel Greene was appointed by Washington in his stead.

A few days after the battle of Camden, Sumter, in command of a detachment sent out by Gates to intercept some supplies for the British, was attacked and badly whipped by Tarleton.

One victory only cheered the patriots. Colonel Campbell with a thousand men attacked a body of English and tories under Colonel Ferguson, at King's Mountain. Thrice Ferguson drove his furious adversaries back with the bayonet, but the murderous rifles of mountaineers picked off 150 of his best men. Ferguson himself fell, and then the eight hundred survivors surrendered, (9th October 1780.)

The armies in the North had been comparatively

quiet. Lafayette had, however, been to France, and obtained the promise of greater assistance. Seven ships of the line, with 6,000 troops under Count Rochambeau, arrived off Newport, on the 10th of July, (1780), and Washington went to Hartford to meet Rochambeau.

During his absence a plot for betraying West Point to the British was discovered. Benedict Arnold, who had fought so bravely and skilfully in the first years of the war, had, through his speculations and extravagance, involved himself in troubles, for which he had been censured by Congress, and afterward deprived of his command. He had, nevertheless, prevailed upon Washington to place him in command of the important post at West Point, (July, 1780). This place he proposed to surrender to the British. In order to complete the arrangements, Major John André, a young and promising officer, was reluctantly persuaded to meet Arnold. That officer took him within the American lines. After all had been arranged, André started to New York. Crossing the Hudson, he had reached Tarrytown, when he was stopped, and his papers, containing plans of West Point and instructions for its attack, were found upon him. Arnold, hearing of the arrest of André, made his escape down the river, and was received into the British army, with the rank of Brigadier-General, and was paid £10,000. André was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged as a spy. Every effort was made by Clinton to save him; but as he refused to give Arnold in

exchange, the sentence was sadly carried into execution (October 2d, 1880).

The beginning of the new year (1781,) saw active preparations going on in the South. Greene had been diligently reorganizing and strengthening his army. He sent Morgan early in January with one Division of 1,000 men, into South Carolina, to arouse the militia and keep down the tories. Colonel Henry Lee went (Light-Horse Harry) with his Legion, to the of Marion. Tarleton advanced to attack Morgan, who posted his army at "the Cowpens," near the South Carolina line. Tarleton attacked with his usual spirit, and superior numbers, and was sure of victory. He was bravely and resolutely met, however, (17th January, 1781), and a charge by Colonel Washington decided the day against him. The British fled with a loss of more than 100 killed, and 523 prisoners. Tarleton was himself wounded by Colonel Washington, in a hand to-hand fight. When, some time afterwards, he sneered at Washington's inability to write his name, he was wittily and properly reminded, that "any way, Washington knew how to make his mark."

Morgan hastened with his prisoners towards Virginia. Cornwallis pursued, with great vigor. Greene, hurrying to Morgan, took command and led the retreat to Charlotte, in the meantime ordering the rest of his army to join him. Across the State of North Carolina they marched, still followed closely by Cornwallis. Twice they barely escaped him. Twice the British were detained by swollen streams,

over which the Americans had passed in safety. At last Greene reached Virginia, where he was reinforced by Virginia militia.

His troops now amounted to more than 4,000 men, and Greene resolved to give battle. He accordingly advanced to Guilford Court House in North Carolina, and awaited the enemy. On the 15th of March (1781), the armies met. The North Carolina militia fled at the first charge; the Virginia militia were driven back by the bayonet; a new Maryland Regiment gave way, and the British were only held in check by Colonel Washington's dragoons. At last the Americans fell back in order. Cornwallis, whose army was hardly half as strong as Greene's, and was destitute of supplies, returned to Wilmington.

Greene now advanced toward Camden, where Lord Rawdon was stationed with a strong force. On the 25th of April Rawdon attacked and drove him back. Next month, however, the British fell back to Eutaw Springs, where, being followed by Greene, one of the fiercest battles of the war took place (8th September 1781). It resulted in the retreat of the British into Charleston. This battle closed the war in South Carolina.

When Greene moved into South Carolina, Cornwallis moved into Virginia. There he found Arnold in supreme command, he having been sent thither by Clinton at the head of 16,000 men. Cornwallis took command of the whole army at Petersburg, and ordered Arnold out of the State.

From May to July Cornwallis spent his time laying waste the country, and destroying all manner of property, closely watched, meantime, by Lafayette, who was, however, too weak to meet the enemy in the open field.

After various marches and countermarches, Cornwallis, by order of Clinton, fortified himself at Yorktown, where he had the benefit of navigable waters and the presence of a few frigates.

Washington having learned that a French fleet would soon arrive in the Chesapeake, saw that with this fleet to block the mouth of York river, and a sufficient army in the peninsula, Cornwallis would be completely at his mercy. He laid his plans accordingly. Concentrating his forces as if for an attack on New York, he so fully impressed Clinton with the belief that such was his purpose, that that General not only refused to send reinforcements to Cornwallis, but ordered him to be ready to reinforce New York. Everything being in readiness, Washington pressed forward with all his available men to the head of the Chesapeake, where they all embarked on French vessels and were transported to the neighborhood of Williamsburgh. De Grasse had already arrived in the Chesapeake with his whole fleet—twenty-four ships of the line—and had landed 3,000 French soldiers to reinforce Lafayette. Scarcely had he done this, when an English squadron appeared. This the French attacked and drove back to sea.

Clinton now attempted to recall Washington to

the north by a diversion into New England. Arnold was sent to ravage the coast of Connecticut. New London was taken, plundered and burnt, and other barbarities were committed; but Washington's plans were not changed.

On the 29th of September, (1781), he laid regular siege to Yorktown. The English were about 8,000 strong. The besiegers consisted of 7,000 French, and 9,500 Americans. On the 6th of October fire was opened, and was continued uninterruptedly until the 14th, when an assault was made, under the lead of Alexander Hamilton, and the outer works were taken. The lines were now drawn closely around Cornwallis. He looked in vain for help. As a last desperate chance of escape, he resolved to cross the York river, cut his way through his enemy, and rejoin Clinton, by forced marches. The attempt was made, but the winds and waves, which had been adverse to him throughout the year, were fatal to him now. He could not move. Nothing now remained but capitulation, and the whole army, (7,015 men), was surrendered to the allied forces on the 19th of October 1781. So ended the brilliant career of Cornwallis in America; so ended the battles of the Revolution.

Washington would have followed up the reduction of Yorktown by a combined operation against Charleston; but the Count de Grasse was under orders which prevented him from remaining with his fleet long enough to unite in the enterprise, and Washington

was consequently forced to abandon it. The fleet, with a portion of the French forces, accordingly set sail before the end of the month. Lafayette soon afterwards returned to France. The rest of the French army went into winter quarters in Virginia, the Count de Rochambeau fixed his headquarters at Williamsburg.

Washington, after detaching about 2,000 continentals under Gen. St. Clair to reinforce General Greene in the Carolinas, sent the main body of his forces northward under General Lincoln, to be cantoned in New Jersey and on the Hudson, so as to be in readiness for operations against New York in the Spring.

He then left Yorktown (Nov. 5, 1781) and arrived the same day at Eltham, the residence of Col. Bassett, just in time to witness the death of Mrs. Washington's only surviving child, John Parke Custis, then in his 28th year and a member of the Virginia Legislature. He left a widow and four young children. The two youngest, a boy and a girl, Washington adopted, and they thenceforth formed a part of his immediate family.

Proceeding to Philadelphia, by way of Mount Vernon, he was received by Congress with distinguished honors. He did not allow such ceremonies, however, prevent him from zealously urging that body to take the most vigorous and effectual measures for an early and decisive campaign, in the next year. His views were concurred in by the Military Committee and by the Secretaries of War, Finance, and Public

Affairs; and, under his impulse and personal supervision, the military arrangements for 1782 were made with unusual despatch. Congress made requisitions on the several States for men and money; and Washington backed those requisitions by letters to the respective Governors, urging prompt action on their part. Strenuous exertions were also made by Dr. Franklin our Minister to France, to secure the continued and efficient co-operation of that country; and the King, upon hearing of the capitulation of Yorktown, promised a loan of six millions.

Early in April (1782), Washington established his Head-Quarters at Newburgh on the Hudson, where he continued to urge Congress and the States to prepare for an active and decisive campaign. Rumors of peace were, however, paralyzing the energies of both Government and people, and he found it difficult to make them do their duty. "No nation," said he, ever yet suffered in treaty by preparing, even in the moment of negotiation, most vigorously for the field."

His efforts were also greatly hampered by the discontents which prevailed among both officers and men, by the reason of the neglect of the States, not only to pay them their scant pay, but even to provide the means for their daily subsistence. There were indeed days when they were absolutely in want of provisions.

They attributed all their ills to the existing form of Government, and a party sprang up in camp which believing that these ills were only to be cured by con-

solidating power in the hands of a vigorous and capable ruler, proposed to make him, who, in their words, "had led them, through difficulties apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory," —King.

The matter was suggested to Washington, who indignantly replied that he received the proposition with horror, and must reprehend it with severity. "If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself," said he, "you could not have found a person to whom your schemes could be more disagreeable."

On the 2d of August, (1782), Washington was notified by the British commander at New York, Sir Guy Carleton, that he had been officially informed that negotiations for peace had been already begun at Paris, and that the Independence of the United States would be proposed in the first instance by the British Commissioner, and not be made a condition of the general treaty.

But Washington did not on this account lessen his exertions to strengthen his army and position. "Jealousy and precaution," said he, "at least do no harm. Too much confidence and supineness may be pernicious in the extreme."

He however wrote to the Count de Rochambeau, who was still in Virginia with his army, advising him to march his troops to the banks of the Hudson, and form a junction with the American army. This was done about the middle of September (1782.)

There they remained inactive throughout the au-

tumn and winter, while discontents in the American army reached so alarming a degree, that it required all the ability and influence of Washington to prevent them from breaking out into open mutiny.

On the 15th of March, (1783), he read a feeling address to the officers, in the course of which he said :

“ If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you that I am a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country ; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty ; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits ; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army ; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it, it can scarcely be supposed at this late stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. * * For myself, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army which I have so long had the honor to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that for the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great one I owe my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may fully command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

“While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever abilities I am possessed of in your favor, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory which you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and to place full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress: * * * and let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and the national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man, who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and to deluge our rising empire in blood.”

Hardly had Washington begun to read this address when, making a short pause, he took out his spectacles, and begged the indulgence of the audience until he put them on, observing at the same time, that *he had grown gray in their service, and now found himself growing blind.* “There was something,” says an eye-witness, “so natural, and so unaffected, in this appeal, as to render it superior to the most studied oratory; it forced its way to the heart, and you might see, sensibility moisten every eye.”

The moment that Washington retired from the Assembly, a resolution was moved by the warm-hearted Knox, and seconded by Putman, and passed unanimously, assuring him that the officers reciprocated his

affectionate expressions with the greatest sincerity of which the human heart is capable," that they would do nothing to sully the reputation and glory acquired at the price of their blood, and eight years faithful services; and would continue to repose unshaken faith in the justice of Congress and their Country.

At length a French vessel, the *Triumph*, arrived (March 23d) bringing a letter from Lafayette to the President of Congress, communicating the intelligence that a Treaty of Peace had been signed at Paris, on the 20th of January (1783). A few days thereafter Sir Guy Carleton informed General Washington by letter that he had been ordered to proclaim a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, and on the 17th of April Washington received a similar Proclamation made by Congress.

Washington now began, by authority of Congress, to grant furloughs without stint to his army; and allowed them to take their arms with them. The men thus furloughed were never called upon to rejoin the army. "Once at home" says Irving, "they sank into domestic life; their weapons were hung up over their fireplaces as military trophies of the Revolution, to be prized by future generations."

By a proclamation of Congress dated the 18th of October (1783), all officers and soldiers absent on furlough were discharged from further service; and all others who had engaged to serve "during the war" were to be discharged on the 3d of November. A small force only, composed of those who had enlisted

for a definite time, was to be retained in service until the Peace Establishment should be organized. On the 2d of November Washington published this Proclamation to the Armies of the United States, and bade them farewell in one of those admirable Addresses, whose straightforward simplicity, whose wise and gentle counsels, whose kindness and benevolence, so perfectly in accord with his character and his conduct, always had an irresistible effect even on the rudest intellects, and the roughest hearts.

It was not until the 25th of November (1783) that the British were ready to evacuate New York. On that day General Washington, accompanied by Governor Clinton of New York, took station at Harlem, with some troops under General Knox. Thence they moved to the Bowery. There they remained till the British troops had evacuated that quarter, then they marched into, and took possession of, the city, the British embarking from the lower parts. A formal entry then took place of the military and civil authorities. General Washington and Governor Clinton with their suites on horseback led the procession accompanied by a troop of Cavalry. Then followed the Lieutenant-Governor, and members of the Council, General Knox and the officers of the Army, the Speaker of the Assembly, and a large number of citizens on horse-back and on foot.

In the course of a few days Washington left for Annapolis, where Congress was convened, in order to resign his commission. A barge was in waiting, at

noon on the 4th of December, to convey him across the Hudson. His principal officers were assembled at a Tavern near the Whitehall Ferry, to take final leave of him. On entering the room and finding himself surrounded by his old companions in arms, his feelings overcame him. Filling a glass of wine, he said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and as happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drunk this farewell benediction, he added with emotion, "I cannot go to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand."

General Knox, who was nearest, was the first to advance. Washington, affected even to tears, grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of all the rest. Not a word was spoken—and then in silence they all followed him to the barge. Entering it, he took off his hat and waved a silent adieu. They replied in the same manner, and after watching him till he was out of sight, returned in silence to the place where they had met.

On his way to Annapolis, Washington stopped for a few days at Philadelphia, where, with his usual exactness in matters of business, he adjusted with the Treasury his accounts from the commencement of the war, down to the very day, (December 13th 1783). They were all in his own hand-writing, and kept in the cleanest and most accurate manner, each entry being

accompanied by a statement of the occasion, and object, of the charge. The gross amount was £14,500 sterling, money actually expended by him in the progress of the war. He accepted no pay.

In passing through New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, he was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm by the people, and greeted with the addresses of Legislative and other, bodies. He accepted it all with the modesty inherent in his nature.

Having arrived at Annapolis, he wrote to the President of Congress, on the 20th of December, asking to be informed in what manner it would be most proper to offer his resignation. He was requested to offer it at an audience. Accordingly he entered the Hall of Congress shortly after noon on the 23d of December. The gallery, and the greater part of the floor were filled with ladies, and public functionaries, and with officers of the Army. The members of Congress were seated, and with their hats on. The other gentlemen present were standing and uncovered.

He was conducted by the Secretary of Congress to a chair which had been prepared for him. The President of Congress, rising said, "The United in States Congress assembled are prepared to receive your communication."

Washington then rose and, in a dignified and impressive manner, delivered a short address—concluding it with these words:

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an

affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

Having delivered his commission into the hands of the President, the latter in reply bore testimony to his exalted patriotism, to his wisdom and fortitude and to his invariable respect for the civil power of the Government, through all disasters and changes. "You retire" added he, "from the theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages."

Leaving Annapolis the next day he reached his beloved Mount Vernon the same day, Christmas Eve, feeling, as he said, in a letter to Governor Clinton, "eased of a load of public care," and hoping to spend the remainder of his days, in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of domestic virtues.

CHAPTER XVI.

LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

In a letter to Lafayette he describes the general tenor of his life, and thought at this time. "Free from the bustle of the camp and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of another country—as if this Globe were insufficient for us all—and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince in hopes of catching a gracious smile can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction."

To another he wrote, "My manner of living is plain, and I do not mean to be put out of it. A glass of wine and a bit of mutton are always ready; and such as will be content to partake of them, will always be welcome. Those who expect more will be disappointed."

This letter was written in view of the stream of

visitors which was beginning to pour toward Mount Vernon, and of the economy which he was forced to practice by reason of the disorder into which his affairs had fallen during the war. The same circumstances induced the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania, about this time, to instruct their delegates in Congress to propose some national reward for his eminent services. Before submitting the matter to Congress these delegates sent a copy of their instructions to Washington. He declined to let the subject be referred to Congress, but expressed his grateful acknowledgement to Pennsylvania for her considerate and graceful intentions, and her high appreciation of his services.

Applications began now to be made to him for material wherewith to prepare histories of the Revolution, and memoirs of his own life. To all these he replied, that as to the public papers in his possession relative to the occurrences and transactions of his late command, he could not submit them to any one, without the consent of Congress, and that it would rather hurt his feelings than flatter his pride to know that any memoir of his life distinct and unconnected with the general history of the war, was being written, and that he surely could not furnish papers or information for such a purpose without subjecting himself to the imputation of vanity. "I had rather leave it to posterity to think and say what they please of me," writes he, "than, by any act of mine, to have vanity or ostentation imputed to me."

During the summer, Lafayette who had just returned from Europe, spent a fortnight at Mount Vernon, and in December made another visit to its hospitable owner, prior to returning to France. When he left, Washington accompanied him to Annapolis, and on his return to Mount Vernon, wrote to the Marquis one of the few sentimental letters to be found in his multifarious correspondence. "In the moment of our separation, upon the road, as I travelled and every hour since, I have felt," said he, "all that love, respect, and attachment for you, with which length of years, close connection, and your merits have inspired me." I often asked myself, as our carriages separated, whether that was the last sight that I should ever have of you. And though I wished to answer No, my fears answered Yes. I called to mind the days of my youth, and found that they had long since fled to return no more; that I was now descending the hill, which I had been fifty-two years climbing, and that though I was blessed with a good constitution, I was of a short-lived family, and might expect to be soon entombed in the mansion of my fathers."

During this Summer (1784) he had made an expedition with his friend Dr. Craik to his lands on the Monongahela. He carefully observed the course and character of the rivers which flow eventually into the Mississippi, and those which flow into the Atlantic, and considered earnestly the practicability of an easy and short communication between the Potomac and

the James, on the east, and the waters of the Ohio on the west; and the vast advantages which would result therefrom to the States of Virginia and Maryland. He saw, too, the necessity of thus binding the valley of the Mississippi to the Atlantic sea-board. Every consideration, political, commercial and economical favored the scheme. "Smooth the road to the West" said he, "and make easy the way for its people, and then see what an influx of articles will pour in upon us; how amazingly our exports will be increased by them, and how amply all shall be compensated for any trouble or expense we may encounter to effect it."

Such were some of the ideas ably and amply set forth by him in a letter to the Governor of Virginia; who laid it before the Legislature. The favor with which it was received induced Washington to repair to Richmond and support the measure in person. On the morning after his arrival (16 of November 1784) a Committee of the House, headed by Patrick Henry, waited upon in behalf of that body, to testify their reverence for his character, and affection for his person, and their sense of the proofs which he constantly gave that no change of situation could turn his thoughts from the welfare of his country

The suggestions of Washington in his letter to Governor Harrison, and his representations during this visit to Richmond, gave the first impulse to the great system of Internal Improvements, on which have rested the growth, the prosperity and the perpetuity of the Union.

He did not let the matter rest; but urged it upon the attention of Congress in a letter addressed to its President, wherein he suggested that the Western rivers should be explored, their navigability be ascertained, and the country mapped; that in all grants of land, the United States should reserve for special sale, all mines, minerals and salt springs; and that a price should be put upon the Public Lands sufficient to prevent monopoly, but not to discourage actual settlement.

Through his indefatigable exertions at Richmond, and at Annapolis, two companies were formed under the patronage of Maryland and Virginia, for opening the navigation of the Potomac and the James; and he was made President of both. By a unanimous vote of the Virginia Assembly, fifty shares in the Potomac Company, and one hundred in the James River Company, (worth \$40,000) were appropriated for his benefit, to the end that while the great works he had promoted would remain monuments of his glory, they might also be monuments of the gratitude of his Country.

Washington hesitated to accept the gift; but fearing that his refusal to do so might be construed into disrespect, he received the shares in trust, to be applied to some object, or institution, of a public nature, and subsequently appropriated them to the endowment of the Academy, which has since grown into the Washington-Lee University.

But it was in rural pursuits that he delighted. "The more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs," he

says in a letter to a friend, "the better am I pleased with them, insomuch that I can nowhere find so much satisfaction as in these innocent and useful pursuits. While indulging these feelings, I am led to reflect how much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the Earth, than all the vain glory that can be acquired from ravaging it by the most uninterrupted career of conquest."

In Governor Clinton, of New York, he had another congenial correspondent, who, like himself, had turned his thoughts and hands from war to agriculture; and many are the pleasant letters which show how much more dearly these great men delighted in the sweet pursuits of Peace, than in the stern and noisy duties of War.

In one, he thanks the Governor for some balsam, and other curious and exotic, trees, which the latter had sent for the adornment of Mount Vernon. In another, he begs him to look after some choice grape vines, which the Chevalier de Luzerne was sending from France.

His Diary, too, shows how diligently and delightedly he was beautifying his precious home; how he was engaged upon his groves and shrubbery, at the opening of the year, (1755); how the white-thorn was full in berry on the 10th of January; and how on the 20th he was clearing the undergrowth from among his pines; that in February he was transplanting ivy under the walls of the garden; and, in March, was making plantations of the stately hemlock, the loveliest of

American Evergreens; sowing holly-berries in April; and ever adding some new beauty to the bland landscape, of which Mount Vernon was still the chiefest charm. Nor did he in the enjoyment of the beautiful, neglect, for one hour, the useful, but filled his Diary with notes which show how studiously he sought to learn, and to do, the *best* in all the cares and duties of a country-gentleman's life.

But his life, peaceful as it was, had its share of annoyances too. His correspondence became an intolerable burthen; and, with the opening of Spring, visitors and sight-seers poured in upon him. Historians, too, and portrait painters became his constant companions, and he nearly sank under the weight of public interest, and private curiosity.

Among the artists who have handed the man down to posterity, as he appeared at this time, was Houdon, a French sculptor of distinguished merit—whom Franklin and Jefferson, at the request of the General Assembly of Virginia, sent to Mount Vernon to make a study of Washington for a statue. The artist remained at Mount Vernon a fortnight, and modelled him from head to foot. After which he returned to Paris, and made that excellent statue and likeness, which adorns the Capitol of Virginia, and copies of which in bronze, and in marble, have been often made, and wisely distributed throughout the Union.

From his correspondence he found relief at last in the faithful pen of a young Secretary, Tobias Lear, of New Hampshire, who now took up his abode at Mount

Vernon; and again he turns with renewed delight to walks and rides through his woods, in quest of elms, and ash-trees, white-thorns, crab-apples, maples, mulberries and lilacs with which to shade and beautify his winding walks and roads. Now he sows acorns, and buck-eye nuts, which he had brought from the Monongahela; opens vistas through his groves and woods, and twines the scarlet honey-suckle about the columns of his porch. Under these sweet influences, the thoughts of his youth came back; and his heart seem to have deeply felt the sentimental glow of his early love, when, with his own hands, he planted a group of young horse-chestnuts which had been sent to him from Westmoreland, by General Henry Lee, (Light Horse Harry), the son of his first love, the "Lowland Beauty."

His estate included several contiguous farms containing in all over three thousand acres—well stocked, with horses, mules, cattle, sheep and swine; and to all he gave his unremitting attention. In their management of his affairs he was remarkably exact. No negligence on the part of overseers, or of anyone, was overlooked. He seldom used many words on the subject of his plans, and rarely asked advice; but having resolved upon them, he carried them into execution, directly and silently, and was not easily dissuaded from what he had begun.

Rising at break of day, he dispatched most of his correspondence before breakfast, which he took at half-past seven. Then he rode to the points at which his

men were at work, and then he returned to the house, and dined at half-past two. He would then write till nine o'clock, unless there were company, or, at times, amuse himself with whist or books.

One of his chiefest peculiarities, at this time, and at all times, was the care with which he abstained from talking of himself, or of anything which he had ever done. His own family, and his most intimate associates, as well as the strangers who enjoyed his hospitality, and even the inquisitive who sought to make him talk of himself, bear unvarying testimony to this striking fact. No one would ever have inferred from anything that he said of himself, that he was conscious of his great distinction in the world.

An anecdote is told which illustrates his benignant character. While the army was camped at Morristown, he attended a religious service, held in the open air. A chair had been placed for his use. Just as the service began, a woman approached with a child in her arms. All the seats were occupied. Washington rose at once, seated her in his own chair, and remained standing during the whole service.

Though habitually grave and thoughtful, he was of a social disposition, and not averse to the pleasures and amusements of life. He was fond of dancing, too, and in the dark days of the Revolution would take part in the gaieties of the camp. "We had a little dance at my quarters" writes General Greene in 1779. "His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without once sitting down. Nor did he

hesitate to engage in less dignified amusements, as many a remarkable story tells; nor did he spurn the humors, and jests, and fun of the table, nor the loud laugh which sometimes follows the generous use of wine, and when the rein is given to wit and humor, and rollicking stories. One anecdote, which throws light on two sides of his character, may be taken from Irving.

Being one day at table with Mrs. Washington and Colonel Henry Lee, he asked the latter whether he knew where he could get a pair of carriage horses.

"I have a fine pair, General, but you cannot get them," said Lee.

"Why not?"

"Because you never pay more than half price for anything, and I want full price for my horses."

This set Mrs. Washington a-laughing, and her parrot joined in the laugh.

Whereupon the General quickly replied, "You are a funny fellow, Lee. You even make the parrot laugh."

While Washington was thus quietly enjoying life, he was suddenly shocked by the death of one of his favorite generals, and most trusted friends, Nathaniel Greene, who died of sun-stroke, (June 18th, 1795) near Savannah, at the farm given to him by the State of Georgia.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

No man perceived sooner than Washington the absolute necessity of a Federal Union. At the very outset of the War, on taking command of the army at Cambridge in 1775, he recognized the distinction which ought to be made between the functions of the several colonies, and that power and weight, which of right ought to belong only to the whole, and he applied to Richard Henry Lee, then in Congress, to help him establish the distinction. "In the following years he strongly counselled," says Bancroft, "the formation of one Continental army. As a faithful laborer in the cause, as a man injuring his private estate without the smallest personal advantage, as one who wished most devoutly the prosperity of America, he in the last days of 1778, pleaded with the statesmen of Virginia to give their thoughts to matters of general concern, to the common interests of America, to the momentous concerns of an Empire." Writing to George Mason in 1779, he lamented that policy, which made the States keep their ablest men at home: "How useless to put in fine order the smallest parts of a clock, unless the great spring which is to set the whole in motion is well attended to. Let this call

forth you, Jefferson, and others, to save their country."

The Articles of Confederation, finally adopted in 1781, did not satisfy him. He saw their fatal defects, and straightway wrote to Jefferson, to Pendleton and Wythe, and urged them to remedy these defects. "The present temper of the States," said he, "is friendly to the establishment of a lasting union. The moment should be improved. If suffered to pass away, it may never return, and, after gloriously and successfully contending against the usurpations of Britain, we may fall a prey to our own follies and disputes," and to his stepson, John Parke Custis, he wrote that Congress must be given power "to dictate, and not merely recommend."

These pleas for a more perfect union had been silenced for the moment by the preparations for a final campaign. The hurry of crowded hours left no opportunity for deliberation on reform of the Constitution. But we shall not have to wait long for a word from Washington; and when next he speaks, he will propose A NEW CONSTITUTION.

How he put a stop to the intrigues, which, after the conclusion of peace, were set on foot to establish a strong Government, through the instrumentality of the Army; how he turned the meeting of officers, which Gates convened, from the path of folly into that of wisdom, has been already told. After repeating the story, Bancroft justly says, "No one ever ruled the hearts of his officers like Washington. The army of

America has seen him calm and commanding in the rage of battle; patient and persistent under multiplied misfortunes; moderate in victory; but *then* he had been countenanced by his troops and his friends. *Now*, he stood alone, amidst injured men, of inflamed passions, with swords at their sides, persuaded that forbearance would be their ruin, and for a fearful moment looking upon him as their adversary. As he spoke every cloud was scattered, and the full light of love of country broke forth. Happy for America that she had a patriot army! Happy for America and the World that that Army had Washington for its chief!"

In June, (1783), he addressed the whole people through a circular to the Governor of every State, in order to arouse a spirit of devotion to the Union, and to incite them to give proper energy "to the Federal Constitution, by a convention of the people."

The newspapers of the day, as they carried this Letter of Washington into every home, caught up the theme, and demanded a revision of the Constitution, not by Congress, but by a Continental Convention, authorized for the purpose, says Bancroft. It was to a nation which had not as yet a self-existent government, and which needed and *felt* the need of one, that Washington's legacy (as he called this circular), went forth. The love, which was everywhere cherished for him, in itself had become a bond of Union. The responses were quick and emphatic. The venerable Governor of Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull, ex-

toll'd it as exhibiting the foundation principles of an indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal head. Delaware endorsed it. Pennsylvania received it enthnsiastically, and its House thanked him unanimously for the inestimable legacy bequeathed to his country. New York and South Carolina warmly responded. Massachusetss despatched him a most affectionate address, attributing to the guidance of an all-wise Providence, his selection as Commander-in Chief.

But it was in Virginia that his letter achieved its greatest victory. Maryland replied, "By your letter you have taught us how to value, preserve, and improve that liberty, which your services, under the smiles of Providence, have secured. If the powers given to Congress by the Confederation should be found incompetent to the purposes of the Union, our constituents will readily consent to enlarge them." And on the part of Congress its President transmitted it to the American Ministers in Europe, as "the most perfect evidence of his inimitable character."

Time ripened the seed thus sown. Maryland and Virginia had appointed commissioners to meet at Alexandria, to arrange certain matters in dispute between them, and others of common interest to the two States. These commissioners went to Mount Vernon in March 1785. After returning to Alexandria and performing the duties for which they were appointed, they began to consider matters of general concern ; and finally institu-

ted a movement which resulted in an invitation by Virginia to all the States to appoint commissioners, to digest and report the requisite augmentation of the powers of Congress over trade. Commissioners from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia accordingly met at Annapolis, on the 11th of September, (1786.) After mature deliberation they expressed in clear and passionless language, their conviction that it would advance the interests of the Union, if the States would "meet at Philadelphia, on the second Monday of the next May (1787), to consider the situation of the United States, and to devise such further provisions as should appear necessary to render the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report to Congress such an act as, when agreed to by them and confirmed by the Legislatures of every State, would effectually provide for the same."

The proposition was received with disfavor by the country and by Congress; and the friends of a more perfect Union were in despair. "We come now," says Bancroft, "upon the week glorious for Virginia beyond any event in her annals, or in the history of any Republic that had ever before existed. Madison had been calm, and prudent, and indefatigable, always acting with moderation, and always persistent of purpose. The hour was come for frank and bold words, and decisive action." He called to Virginia and her Assembly by a unanimous vote, dashing aside the imbecile Congress, invited the States to meet her in con-

vention, at the appointed time and place, and for the appointed purpose. Then choosing a delegation with Washington at their head, she calmly awaited the result. New Jersey and Pennsylvania quickly took place beside her. Their action, the solemn and earnest appeal of Virginia, the inspiring eloquence of Hamilton, and the steady perseverance of Madison, won the day. Congress yielded, (February 21st 1787), and recommended the Convention, and one by one all of the States, except Rhode Island, accepted the invitation of Virginia, and sent delegates to the Convention.

Washington went to the Convention well prepared for the great work there to be undertaken. His knowledge of the institutions of his own country, gained by long experience, was probably as complete as that of any other man. But he was not satisfied with this alone. He read the history, and examined the principles of the ancient and modern confederacies. There is a paper in his handwriting which contains an abstract of each, and in which are carefully noted their chief characteristics, their modes of operation, and their defects. He also read the standard works on general politics and the science of government, abridging parts of them, according to his usual practice, so that he might impress the essential points more deeply on his mind.

In due time he set out for Philadelphia. At Chester he was met by public honors. From the Schuylkill the City Light Horse conducted him into Phila-

delphia, the bells chiming all the while. His first act was to wait upon Franklin, then resident of Pennsylvania.

On the 25th of May the seven States required to form a quorum, were present. At the desire of Franklin, Washington was unanimously elected President of the Convention.

The Convention was in session four months. The result of its labors was the Constitution of the United States. On the 17th of September, (1787), this was signed by all the members present, except three. They all dined together on that day, and took a cordial leave of each other. Washington retired at an early hour, "to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed."

The Constitution having been transmitted by Washington, as President of the Convention, to Congress, was immediately sent by that body to the several State Legislatures, for the purpose of being submitted in each State to a Convention of delegates chosen by the people. As soon as he had gotten back to Mount Vernon, Washington sent copies of it to Patrick Henry, to Harrison and to Nelson, each of whom had been Governor of Virginia. In a propitiatory letter he appealed to their experience of the difficulties which had always arisen in attempts to reconcile the interests and local prejudices of the several States, and urged them to support it.

A visitor at Mount Vernon, just after the letter was written, says, that he had never in his life seen "him

so keen for anything, as for the adoption of the new form of Government." Throughout the whole country, says Bancroft, he was the centre of interest; in Virginia, of power. The leaders of the opposition answered him frankly, but with expressions of deference and affection.

Harrison, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and even George Mason, opposed the ratification of the constitution by Virginia; but the influence of Washington outweighed them all. He was enbosomed in the affections, and enshrined in the pride of the people of Virginia; and in all their wanderings, during the nine anxious months following the Federal Convention, he was the anchor of the Constitution. His neighbors agreed with him to a man, and Fairfax County instructed George Mason, and its other representatives, that the peace, security and prosperity of Virginia, and of the United States, depended on the speedy adoption of the Federal Constitution.

Finally, on the 25th of June, 1788, New Hampshire ratified the Constitution, which thereupon, (eight other States having already ratified it), became the Supreme Law of the Land. The master who accomplished this great work was George Washington.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT.

The Presidential election was held on the 1st Wednesday of January, 1789. The electors met on the 1st Wednesday of February, and cast all their ballots for Washington. At the same time John Adams was chosen Vice President.

The new government was to be inaugurated on the 1st Wednesday (the 4th day) of March, but a quorum of the House did not appear till the 1st of April, nor was the Senate organized till the 6th of that month (1789). On that day the election of Washington was formally declared. On the 14th the fact was officially made known to him, and on the 16th he set out for the temporary seat of government, New York.

His journey thither was one continued march of triumph. All the way he was met with addresses from the various towns, from societies, universities and churches. The people gathered to see him as he passed along the road ; he was escorted from place to place by companies of militia ; and in the principal cities his presence was announced by the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and by military displays.

At Trenton he was met by a party of matrons and

their daughters, all dressed in white, singing an ode of welcome to "the mighty chief, who had rescued them from a mercenary foe," and strewing flowers before him.

"Embarking at Elizabeth Point on a new barge, manned by pilots draped in white, he cleaved his course swiftly across the bay, between gaily decorated boats, filled with gazers, who cheered him with instrumental music and songs. As he touched the soil of New York he was welcomed by the two Houses of Congress, by the Governor of the State, by the magistrates of the city, and by its people; and, so attended, proceeded on foot to the modest mansion lately occupied by the presiding officer of the late Congress. On that day he dined with Governor Clinton; and in the evening the city was illuminated." (Bancroft.)

On the 20th, the day appointed for his inauguration, he was ceremoniously received by the two Houses of Congress in the Hall of the Senate (in the old City Hall). Stepping out on a balcony which overlooked Broad Street, he found before him an immense throng reaching almost to Broadway. It was hushed into silence when Livingston, the Chancellor of New York, administered the oath of office; but when he cried "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" the air was rent with huzzas.

Then returning to the Senate Chamber, "with an aspect grave almost to sadness, and a voice deep and tremulous," he delivered his inaugural. He then went on foot to St. Paul's Church, accompanied by

Congress. There prayers, suited to the occasion, were read, after which the people all attended the President to his mansion.

“Every one without exception,” so reports the French minister to his Government, “appeared penetrated with veneration for the illustrious chief of the Republic. The humblest was proud of the virtues of the man who was to govern them. Tears of joy were seen to fall in the Senate, at church and even in the streets; and no Sovereign ever reigned more completely in the hearts of its subjects than Washington in the hearts of his fellow citizens. Nature, which has given him the talent to govern, has distinguished him from all others by his appearance. He has at once the soul, the look and the figure of a hero.”

Washington felt that the task to which he had so reluctantly undertaken was one of great responsibility and difficulty, and he knew that the hopes and expectations of his countrymen were in proportion to the unanimity with which they had crowned him with honors and with which they had entrusted the Government to him.

“All that I dare hope,” said he in his inaugural, “is that, if in accepting this task I have been too much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former instances, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens, and have thence too little consulted my incapacity, as well as my disinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me, my error will be pal-

liated by the motives which misled me, and its consequences be judged by my country with some share of the partiality in which they originated."

With these sentiments, and with profound reliance upon the guidance of an overruling Providence, he commenced the arduous duties of Chief Magistrate of the United States.

As in accepting the command of the armies at the beginning of the Revolution—so, now, in accepting the Presidency of the Republic, which he had done so much to found, he notified Congress that he would accept no other compensation for his services than such as would be necessary to defray the expenses of his household and other charges incident to his public station. Congress, nevertheless, fixed his salary at \$25,000.

The organization of the new Government was, of course, the great duty to which the President and Congress directed their attention. Three Executive departments were provided for—of State, of the Treasury, and of War. The Navy was put under the charge of the latter.

Long experience in public affairs, high political standing, and great ability, pointed out Thomas Jefferson as eminently qualified for the State Department. He was now about to return for a time from France, where he had some years before succeeded Franklin as American Minister, and had already won great distinction and favor among all parties to the great struggle which was then convulsing France and shak-

ing all Europe to its centre. To him the President determined to offer the Secretaryship of State.

Alexander Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury. His eminent fitness for the position was questioned by no one.

General Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, one of his most trusted generals, and who was known to be a discreet man with business habits, was made Secretary of War.

To Edmund Randolph of Virginia, was given the office of Attorney General. He had presented to the Convention that scheme of Government which was the basis of the new Constitution; he was so dissatisfied, however, with the changes which were made, that he was one of the three members of the Convention who refused to sign it. For this mistake he compensated afterwards, by supporting the Constitution with great and controlling ability in the Virginian Convention. He had been Governor of that State at an early age, and being gifted with intellect, eloquence, an elegant person, charming manners, and social distinction, was very popular.

The President's next care was to appoint the Justices of the Supreme Court, a tribunal whose proper constitution he regarded as "essential to the happiness of the country, and to the stability of its political system," and as "the keystone of our political fabric." In placing John Jay at its head, he consulted alike the public good, the dignity of the Court, and his own feelings. His associates were worthy of him, and the Court in-

stantly assumed a respectability and weight suited to the rank conferred upon it by the Constitution.

No part of his duties gave him so much anxiety as that of distributing the lesser offices in his gift; for he clearly foresaw the important bearing of this matter, no less upon the disposition of the people towards the new government, than upon the efficiency of the administration itself. He, therefore, after earnest thought, prescribed to himself certain rules for his guidance, to which he rigidly adhered—never to give any pledges or encouragement to any one; not be influenced in the remotest degree by the ties of family or of blood; and chiefly to regard three things, “the fitness of character to fill offices, the comparative claims from the former merits and sufferings in service of the different candidates, and the distribution of appointments in as equal a proportion as might be to persons belonging to different States in the Union.”

Among the lesser duties of his station was the establishment of rules for the conduct of his social relations as President of the Republic; a thing of no little difficulty, for while it was essential, in the intercourse of the President with the world, to maintain the dignity of the office by such forms as should insure deference and respect, the nature of Republican Institutions, and the habits of the people, required the Chief Magistrate to be accessible to every citizen on proper occasions, and for reasonable purposes, and that he should be surrounded by none of the pomp

and circumstance of Kingly Governments. Accordingly, with the advice of the Vice-President, Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and other gentlemen, rules were adopted which established the etiquette of the White House, as it substantially exists at the present day. Hours were set apart to receive such persons as chose to call. Foreign Ministers, strangers of distinction, and citizens came and went without ceremony. Every Friday afternoon Mrs. Washington received; the General always being present. Other times were set : part for special visits of ceremony or business. He accepted no invitations to dinner; but invited to his own table foreign ministers, officers of the Government, and others. No visits were received on Sunday. In the morning he uniformly attended church. The afternoon he spent alone, the evening with his family, and occasionally an intimate friend.

During the summer, (1789), he was dangerously ill. For six weeks he was confined to his bed; and it was three months before he was well. He never entirely recovered from the effects of this sickness. Hardly had he gotten strong enough to leave the house, when he heard of the death of his mother, who had died, on the 25th of August, in the 82d year of her age. Through life she had been remarkable for vigor of mind and of body, simplicity of manners, and uprightness of character. The success and renown of her great son, and the honors which were heaped upon him, made no change in the widow's deportment or style of living, and whenever he re-visited her mod-

est dwelling, he re-entered the simple home of his childhood, with its ways and habits all unchanged, and as fresh in its rustic purity and old-time virtues, as when, in his boyhood, he there learned the lessons of unaffected wisdom and all-pervasive goodness.

Neither pride nor vanity ever mingled with the feelings which were aroused in her heart by the attentions which were bestowed upon her as the "Mother of Washington." She listened to his praises and was silent, or would only say that he had always been a good son, and had, she hoped, done his duty as a man.

Congress having adjourned on the 29th of September till January, Washington took advantage of this circumstance to make a tour through New England for the benefit of his health and to observe the condition of the people and their feelings toward the new government. He travelled in his own carriage, accompanied by his Secretaries, Mr. Lear and Mr. Jackson; and in the course of a month visited New Haven, Hartford, Worcester, Boston, Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth. He was everywhere greeted with acclamations of joy, and shown the utmost respect and veneration. The journey was every way satisfactory to him, not only as furnishing proofs of the strong attachment of the people to himself, but as showing to him the growing prosperity of the country, and the satisfaction of the people with the Constitution and with the administration of the Government.

Congress having re-assembled in January (1790), the President, from the chair of the Vice President,

addressed both Houses assembled in the Senate Chamber, advising them to organize, arm, and discipline the militia; to encourage such manufactures as were essential to the national defense; to protect the Western frontier from Indian incursions; to adopt a naturalization law; to establish a uniform currency; to promote education; and above all to support the public credit.

The National Debt had its origin chiefly in the Revolution. It was of two kinds—Foreign and Domestic. The Foreign, amounting to \$12,000,000, was due mainly in France, Holland and Spain. The Domestic Debt, due in this country, amounted to \$42,000,000. Both of these debts had been contracted by Congress, and were acknowledged to be a national charge. The several States had also contracted during the Revolution, for the support of troops and the maintenance of the war generally, debts amounting to about \$25,000,000. The Foreign debt had to be paid in full. Hamilton proposed that all the Domestic debts, including the \$25,000,000 due by the States individually, should be funded and paid by the United States. He was violently and bitterly opposed, on the ground that the Domestic debt had fallen into the hands of speculators who had paid but a trifle for it, and who had no claim to full payment.

The assumption of the State debts was opposed by Madison and others, on other and stronger grounds; but Hamilton, backed by the speculators and sustained by those who believed that the honor and best inter-

ests of the country required it to fulfill its obligations at whatever cost, triumphed. He might have failed, after all, had he not (as is charged) secured for his propositions a vote or two from Maryland and Virginia, by making an arrangement whereby the seat of Government was permanently established within the limits of those States.

The President expressed no sentiments on the subject, while it was under debate in Congress; but he approved the act for funding the debt, and was, undoubtedly, a sincere friend of the measure.

Another severe illness prostrated him during the summer, and, as soon as he was well enough to travel, he sought repose and recreation in the quiet of Mount Vernon, whither he always returned with delight; but with redoubled pleasure now, when he so much needed rest from labor, and refreshment for his weary spirit and debilitated body.

The new Government was early called upon to protect the frontier settlements against Indian ravages. A war began, which lasted four or five years, with many vicissitudes of misfortune and disaster; the defeats of Harmer and St. Clair; unsuccessful campaigns; and much loss of blood and treasure, till General Wayne put an end to it, first by a battle (4th November, 1794) and then, in the next year, by a treaty of peace. It was a source of constant regret and pain to Washington, on account of the necessity of subduing the savages by force, and of the heavy burdens which it laid upon the Treasury.

Congress convened at Philadelphia in December, 1790, that city having been made the seat of government for ten years. Two important measures were adopted: a National Bank, and a tax on ardent spirits distilled in the United States. Washington approved both.

The tax on ardent spirits was violently opposed (particularly in those sections where whiskey was chiefly distilled), and its enforcement was openly resisted. In Western Pennsylvania it provoked a formidable insurrection with which very respectable persons, including Albert Gallatin, were connected. Washington finally called out fifteen thousand militia, under command of General Henry Lee and General Morgan. This wise display of force, with the exercise of moderation, was successful. The insurgents dispersed and the Whiskey Insurrection was at an end (1794).

During the Spring and Summer of this year (1791) Washington made a journey through the South. He was gone three months, and travelled nearly 1900 miles with the same horses. His route lay through Richmond, Wilmington and Charleston, as far as Savannah; whence he returned by way of Augusta, Columbia, and the interior of Virginia and North Carolina. Before leaving home he had ascertained with great exactness the distances between each place at which he was to stop. Not a single accident occurred, nor was his plan departed from in any instance—except that he stayed one day less at one place

and one day longer at another, than had been intended. He everywhere received the same proofs of respect and attachment which had attended him in his travels through the Middle and Eastern States. It was during this trip that he selected the site of the District of Columbia.

At the next session of Congress, the parties which had existed in the country ever since the debates on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, divided distinctly on all the measures before that body. The leader of the one, the Federalists, was Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury ; the leader of the other, which now took the name of Republicans, was Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State. The contest was carried on, therefore, not only before the people and in Congress, but in the Cabinet itself.

Hamilton believing that the Constitution could never be efficient and strong enough, except by construing and administering it in such manner as would add to the powers of the Executive, had always preferred those measures, which would produce that result, and among these were the Funding system ; the assumption of the State debts ; the bank ; and the tax on distilled spirits.

Jefferson, whose fears were that the Constitution gave too much power to the Executive, and that it endangered the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people, resisted these measures and every other which it was not clearly within the constitutional power of Congress to enact.

The conflict between Hamilton and Jefferson soon became bitter and personal, and gave great anxiety to Washington. He had a high opinion of the merits of both, and probably was not blind to the faults of either. He accordingly used his utmost endeavors to reconcile their differences, and to that end addressed to each of them several letters, which are enduring monuments of his own wisdom, of his own patriotism, and of his own immense superiority to both of them in statesmanship and in real manhood.

But in vain. The two Secretaries continued to diverge from each other, both in their political course, and in their private feelings, till their differences settled into a personal enmity, which neither the advice of friends could modify, nor time eradicate.

On one point they agreed: the need of Washington at the helm. When, therefore, his first term was drawing to its close, they each wrote him a long letter, urging him, as a matter of the utmost importance to his own reputation, and to the public interests, that he should at least consent to serve for the present; and assuring him, in the most earnest language, that in their opinion, his character, his influence, and his steady hand were necessary to secure the stability of the Government, if not to preserve the nation from anarchy.

"The confidence of the whole Union," said Jefferson, "is centred in you. * * * I am perfectly aware of the oppression under which your present office lays your mind, and of the ardor with which you pant for

retirement to private life. But there is sometimes an eminence of character, on which society has such peculiar claims, as to control the predilection of the individual for a peculiar walk of happiness, and restrain him to that alone, arising from the present and future benedictions of mankind. This seems to be your condition, and the law imposed upon you by Providence in forming your character, and fashioning the events upon which it was to operate."

Hamilton was equally strenuous and decided.

Governor Randolph, the Attorney-General, wrote :

"The Constitution never would have been adopted, but from the knowledge that you sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it. It is in a state of probation. The most inauspicious struggles are past; but the public deliberations need stability. You alone can give them stability. * * It is the fixed opinion of the world, that you surrender nothing incomplete."

Yielding to these, and similar representations from all quarters of the country, Washington finally consented to serve a second term, and was again unanimously elected.

CHAPTER XIX.

HIS SECOND TERM.

WASHINGTON began his second term on the 4th of March, 1793, with John Adams again as Vice-President.

The foreign relations of the United States were every day becoming more peculiarly delicate and embarrassing. The French Revolution, which had broken out in the first year of his administration, (1789), had, in its earliest stages, excited the utmost sympathy of the people of America, and, in spite of the bloodthirsty scenes which had since darkened its character, was still regarded by the greater part of them as a rightful war of the oppressed against their oppressors.

Gouverneur Morris had, after Jefferson's return, been sent to France as United States Minister, and a friendly intercourse had been kept up between the two countries, on the basis of the existing treaties of alliance and commerce. But the subversion of the royal government in France, in August, 1792, was succeeded by such a state of anarchy, and by scenes of so much blood and horror; there was so much uncertainty as to the future course of events in that coun-

try, and so much reason to doubt whether the fallen monarch would be finally deposed, or restored to his throne, with increased splendor and power; that the American Minister, uncertain what course to pursue, declined to commit his government to the fortunes of the party which had seized the supreme power. Offended by this conduct, the Executive of France complained, through its minister at Philadelphia, of the conduct of the American Minister, and of the little sympathy exhibited by the American Government to those who had so lately, so generously, and so successfully aided them in their own struggle for liberty. Our Government, responding to these complaints, instructed Mr. Morris that the United States recognized the right of every nation to govern itself according to its own will; to change its institutions at discretion; and to transact its business through whatever agents it might think proper; and that, consequently, the administration entertained no doubt of the propriety of recognizing the existing authority in France, whatever form it might assume. He was also directed to seize every occasion to confirm and strengthen the alliance between the two countries.

These instructions expressed the feelings of the President, whose attachment to the French nation was as strong as consisted with a due regard to the interests of his own country. Devoted to the principles of real liberty, and approving unequivocally the Republican form of government, he earnestly hoped that the French would themselves establish a Republic which

should secure to that people the inestimable blessings of Liberty; but he could not forget that it was the deposed King himself who had given to the hard pressed colonies that assistance which had enabled them to achieve their independence; nor was he willing to imperil the fortunes of his own country by involving it in the deadly contest which was deluging the soil of France with blood. He therefore resolved to maintain the strictest neutrality between the contending factions, and to carefully avoid becoming complicated in their quarrels.

Not much time elapsed after his second inauguration before an occasion presented itself for testing the firmness of his resolution.

Early in April, (1793), the people of the United States learned that the French had declared war against England and Holland. The event produced the profoundest agitation. There was an almost universal feeling that it was criminal to be unconcerned spectators of a conflict between their ancient enemy and Republican France. Men of all parties partook of it. The few who did not do so were held up as objects of popular detestation, and were denounced as the tools of Britain, and as the satellites of despotism.

But the disposition to actually engage in the war was far from being general. The inclination of the people was to the full indulgence of the most extravagant partiality, but not to an involvement in the consequences which that indulgement would infallibly

produce. The situation was one in which the wisdom and foresight of an enlightened government was indispensably necessary to prevent the nation from precipitating itself into war.

Washington was at Mount Vernon when he heard of the French declaration of war. He wrote immediately to the Secretary of State, avowing his determination to maintain a strict neutrality, and directing him to take instant measures to prevent privateers from being fitted out in any American port. On the 17th of April he reached Philadelphia, and after consulting his Cabinet, determined that he would receive a Minister of the French Republic, if one should present his credentials; and on the 22d of April 1793, published a proclamation of neutrality, which thereafter being rigidly enforced, saved this country from being drawn into the vortex of the great wars, which raged in Europe for many years with such great violence.

Our relations with Great Britain had also become very unsatisfactory. Accusations were made by both Governments of infractions of the Treaty of Peace of 1783, and that its stipulations had not been carried out, and both began to resort to measures of retaliation. To avert war, Washington determined to send the Chief-Justice, John Jay, as a Special Minister to England. (April, 1796). A treaty was concluded by him, which was not by any means satisfactory to the President; but he, believing that war would inevitably follow its rejection, submitted it to the Senate.

That body reluctantly ratified it by a bare constitutional majority (June, 1795). Its publication created the intensest excitement, and developed the bitterest opposition to the Treaty. But the President nevertheless signed it, August 13th 1795.

Washington had reluctantly accepted the Presidency the second time. He was resolved to decline a third election and signified this purpose in a Farewell Address—a paper unrivalled for the vigor of its language, the soundness of its maxims, the wisdom of its counsels, and the purity and elevation of its sentiments. In it he urged the maintenance of “the unity of the Government” as “a main pillar in the edifice of real independence; the support of tranquillity at home, peace abroad, safety, prosperity and liberty.” He regretted that “any ground should be furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western”—and warned the people against innovations on the principles of the Constitution, while retaining its forms.

It was published on the 15th of September (1796), and produced in every class of the community a sensation which has been as lasting as it was strong. The sentiments of veneration with which it was generally received were manifested in almost every part of the Union. Some of the State Legislatures directed it to be inserted at large in their journals; and nearly all of them passed resolutions expressing their respect for the person of the President, their high sense of his exalted services, and the emotions with

which they contemplated his retirement from office.

In the election which followed, John Adams was elected President, and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President. On the 4th of March (1797) they were inaugurated, and Washington ceased to be President.

CHAPTER XX.

AFTER THE PRESIDENCY.

Being once more a private citizen, and having already made preparation for his departure from the Capitol, he proceeded immediately with his family to Mount Vernon. He was welcomed, as he went thither, with as ardent demonstrations of attachment as when clothed with the dignity and powers of office. On approaching Baltimore he was met by a military escort and a large concourse of her people, who accompanied him into the city; and it was not till he had actually reached Mount Vernon that he could say that he was no longer a public man.

No one, at this day, doubts the wisdom and the success of Washington's administration, nor its beneficent influence upon the character of the Government; and never was the country more prosperous than while he was its Chief Magistrate. Credit was restored and established on a firm basis; the public debt was provided for, and its ultimate payment secured; commerce increased beyond example; the tonnage of our ports was doubled; imports and exports were greatly augmented, and the revenues increased beyond expectation; the war with the Indians was successfully

closed and the security of the frontier assured; and treaties were made with foreign powers, whereby old disputes were settled and important privileges gained.

Being once more at Mount Vernon, Washington readily returned to the same habits of life and the same pursuits, which he had always practiced there. He found that much was to be done to repair his houses, to restore his farms to the condition in which he had left them, and to complete his system of agriculture; and to these employments he devoted himself earnestly, and with unfailing pleasure. Writing to a friend, at this time, he says that he arose with sun, that as soon as he had breakfasted he mounted his horse and rode over his farm till it was time to dress for dinner, "at which I rarely miss," says he, "to see stranger faces come, as they say, out of respect for me, and how different is this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board! Then a walk and tea brings me within the dawn of candle-light;" after which he acknowledged the letters he had received.

In this manner a year passed away; when once more he was called to serve his country. The French Directory was committing outrages and insults against the United States, which no independent nation could brook. President Adams convened Congress, and, submitting the subject to them, recommended preparations for war. That everything might be done to escape that alternative, two envoys extraordinary John Marshall and Eldridge Gerry, were sent to France to make one more effort, in conjunction with the American Min

ister there, Mr. Pinckney, to preserve peace. This mission failed entirely, and Congress authorized the President to enlist ten thousand men as a Provisional army, and to call them into actual service if war should be declared by France, or whenever there was danger of an invasion.

The President straightway nominated Washington Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and the nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate the next day (July 3 1798). The Secretary of War himself bore the commission to Mount Vernon. Washington accepted the appointment with two reservations: first, that the principal officers should be such as he approved; and that he himself should not be required to take the field till his presence there should become necessary. He also declared that he would not receive any emoluments of the office, until he should actually incur expense, and only to that extent.

At his request, Alexander Hamilton was commissioned as Inspector-General, with rank next to himself, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Henry Knox were appointed Major Generals. Knox, offended by being ranked by men who had been his juniors, declined the appointment.

From this time to the end of his life a great part of Washington's attention was given to the affairs of the new army. His correspondence with the Secretary of War and with the officers of the army was unremitting and very full, and showed that the vigor and fer-

tility of his mind were still unimpaired. He spent a month in Philadelphia with Hamilton and Pinckney, making arrangements for raising and organizing the army, and after the plan was finished, applied himself with all the ardor of his younger days to put it into execution.

He never seriously apprehended that the French would actually invade the country, but he firmly believed that the surest way to prevent war was to prepare for it. His opinion proved to be correct. The French, seeing that our Government was sustained by the people, intimated a willingness to enter into negotiations. The President again sent three envoys with full power to negotiate. Before they arrived in Paris Napoleon had overthrown the Directory, and was at the head of affairs. Having taken no part in the preceding disputes, and seeing no advantage in continuing them, he readily received the envoys, and the disputes between the two countries were peacefully settled.

Washington did not live to share in the joy which the country felt at the restoration of peace. On Friday, the 13th of December, (1799) while attending to some improvements upon his estate, he was exposed to a light rain, by which his neck and hair became wet. Not apprehensive of danger from this circumstance, he passed the afternoon in his usual manner; but in the night he was seized with an inflammatory affection of the windpipe. The disease commenced with a violent ague, accompanied with some soreness

of throat, which by Saturday morning had become so severe, that he breathed and spoke with difficulty. About 11 o'clock in the morning Dr. Craik arrived. Perceiving the extreme danger of the case, he requested that two consulting physicians should be immediately sent for. But the utmost exertions of medical skill were applied in vain. The powers of life were manifestly yielding to the force of the disease. Speaking, which was painful from the beginning, became almost impracticable; respiration became more and more imperfect and contracted, until half-past eleven, Saturday night (December 14th 1799), when, retaining the full possession of his intellect, he expired without a struggle.

Believing from the commencement of his complaint that its conclusion would be mortal, he had economized his time in arranging, with the utmost serenity, those few concerns which required his attention, and had awaited the inevitable hour with every demonstration of that equanimity for which his life was so uniformly and singularly conspicuous. On Wednesday, the 18th of December, his body was deposited in the family vault at Mount Vernon.

On the same day the news reached Philadelphia, where the Congress was in session. On the next day, John Marshall, afterwards Chief-Justice, and then a member of the House, after recounting the public acts of Washington in an eloquent and pathetic speech, offered resolutions that the House wait upon the President, to condole with him on the occasion;

and that a joint committee of the two Houses be appointed, "to pay due honors to the memory of the man, who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

General Henry Lee was appointed to deliver an oration before Congress; the people were requested to observe his birth-day, and imposing funeral ceremonies were celebrated.

The mourning was universal, and was respected everywhere, and in all appropriate ways. The honors which he received abroad are such as have no parallel. Bonaparte issued an order of the day to the French armies, announcing his death, and directing all the standards and flags of the Republic to be draped with black crape. A splendid ceremony took place in the Champ de Mars, and a funeral oration was pronounced in the Hotel des Invalides, in the presence of Napoleon, and the chief civil and military authorities of France. The whole British fleet at Torbay, on hearing the intelligence of his death, displayed its colors at half-mast in honor to his memory.

CHAPTER XXI.

HIS CHARACTER.

Washington, like most of the Virginians of his day, was utterly opposed to the institution of slavery, and sought to promote emancipation by every legal means. In 1774 he had, as chairman of a committee appointed by a meeting in Fairfax County, drafted resolutions declaring that "no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this Continent," and expressing "the most earnest wishes to have an entire stop put forever to such a wicked, cruel and unnatural traffic." In 1783 he wrote to Lafayette, who had bought an estate in Cayenne in order to emancipate the slaves, that he would be most happy to join him in so laudable a work. "It is," says he, "a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself in the hearts of the people of this country! Emancipation might, and assuredly *ought*, to be effected, and that too, by Legislative authority." He would have set free his own slaves while he was yet living, but was prevented by the fact that Mrs. Washington's, with whose his own were intermarried, had been entailed upon her, and could not be set free till her death. He therefore provided by his

will for the emancipation of all when she should die. The old and the feeble were carefully provided for. The young ones were to be liberated when they reached twenty-five, and were meanwhile to be taught to read and to write; and he expressly forbade the transportation of any one of them out of the Commonwealth. He also enjoined it upon his executors to see that the clause respecting slaves and every part thereof "should be religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect, or delay."

Great as was the fame of Washington while he lived, and venerated as was his name, it is only in our day that mankind have begun to comprehend the greatness of his understanding and the grandeur of his character. But even then the great ones of the earth recognized his wisdom and his virtues. Frederick the Great and Napoleon measured him aright; Chatham and Erskine and Grattan paid glowing tributes to his exalted worth; Hamilton and Jefferson felt and acknowledged his mastery; and John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, knowing him well, and having thoroughly studied his life and character, describes him thus:

"He made no pretensions to that vivacity which fascinates, or to that wit which dazzles, and frequently imposes upon the understanding. More solid than brilliant, judgment rather than genius constituted the most prominent feature of his character.

"As a military man he was brave, enterprising and cautious. Inferior to his adversary in the number, in

the equipment and in the discipline of his troops, it is evidence of his merit that no great and decisive advantage was ever obtained over him, and that the opportunity to strike an important blow never passed away unused. He has been termed the American Fabius; but those who compare his actions with his means will perceive as much of Marcellus as of Fabius in his character.

“In his civil administration, as in his military career, were exhibited ample and repeated proofs of that practical good sense, of that sound judgment, which is perhaps the most rare, and certainly the most valuable, quality of the human mind.

“No man has ever appeared upon the theatre of public action, whose integrity was more incorruptible, or whose principles were more perfectly free from the contamination of selfish and unworthy passions. His ends were always upright, and his means were always pure.”

From that day to this his fame has grown in greatness and in brightness, and yet the half has not been told of his virtues and his wisdom.

One of the latest and best of English historians, (Green,) says of him :

“No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation’s life. Washington was grave and courteous in address ; his manners were simple and unpretending ; his silence and the serene calmness of his temper spoke of a perfect self-mastery ; but there was little in his outer bearing to reveal the grandeur of soul, which

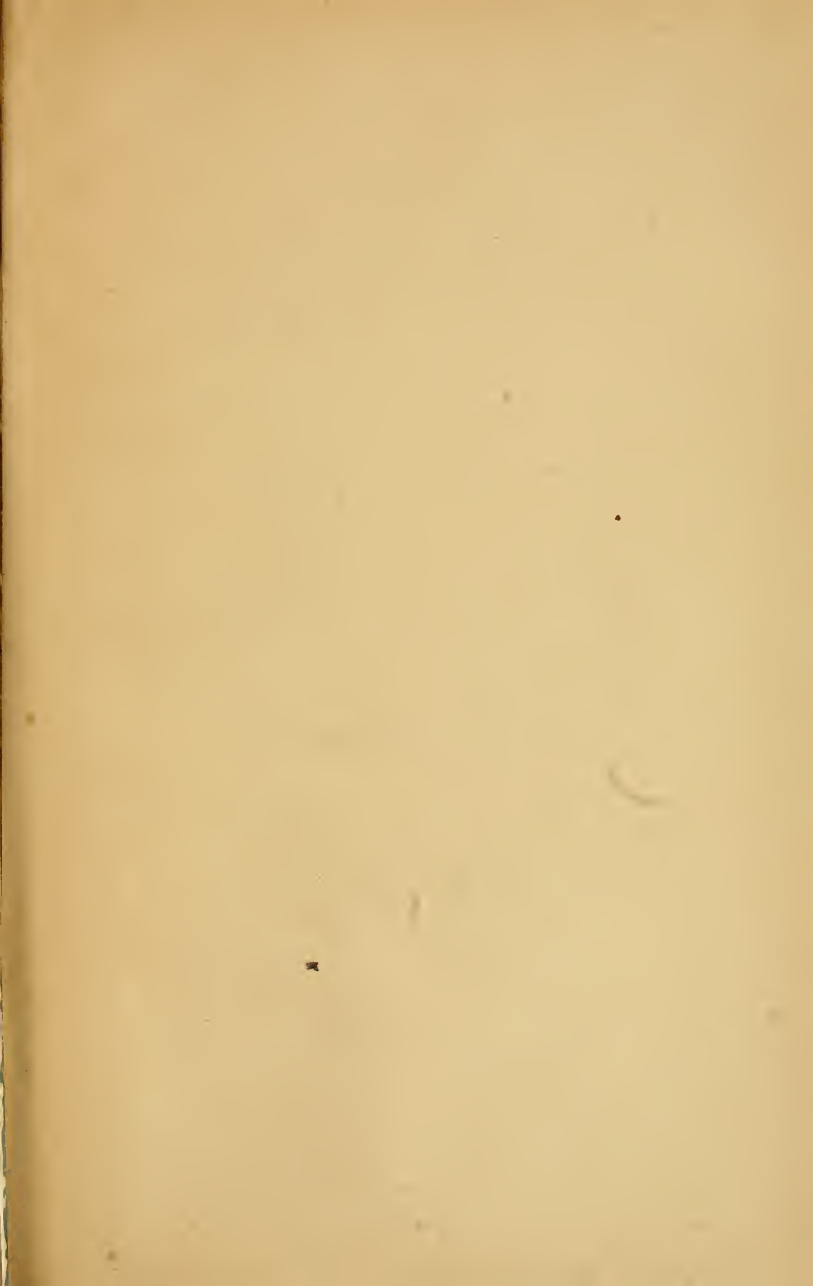
lifts his figure with all the simple majesty of an ancient statue, out of the smaller passions, and the meaner impulses, of the world around him. As the weary fight for independence went on, the colonists learned little by little, the greatness of their leader, his clear judgment, his heroic endurance, his silence under difficulties, his calmness in the hour of danger or defeat, the patience with which he waited, the quickness and hardness with which he struck; the lofty and serene sense of duty that never swerved from its task through resentment or jealousy, that never through war or peace felt the touch of a meaner ambition, that knew no aim save that of guarding the freedom of his fellow countrymen, and no personal longing save that of returning to his own fireside when their freedom was secured. It was almost unconsciously that men learned to cling to him with a faith and trust which few men have won, and to regard him with a reverence which still hushes us in the presence of his memory."

And Lecky writes: "Of all the great men in history he was invariably the most judicious, and there is scarcely a rash word, or action, or judgment recorded of him. No act of his public life can be traced to personal caprice, ambition, or resentment. In the despondency of long failure; in the elation of sudden success; at times when his soldiers were deserting by hundreds, and when malignant plots were formed against his reputation; amid the constant quarrels, rivalries and jealousies of his subordinates; in the dark hour of national ingratitude as well as in the midst of universal

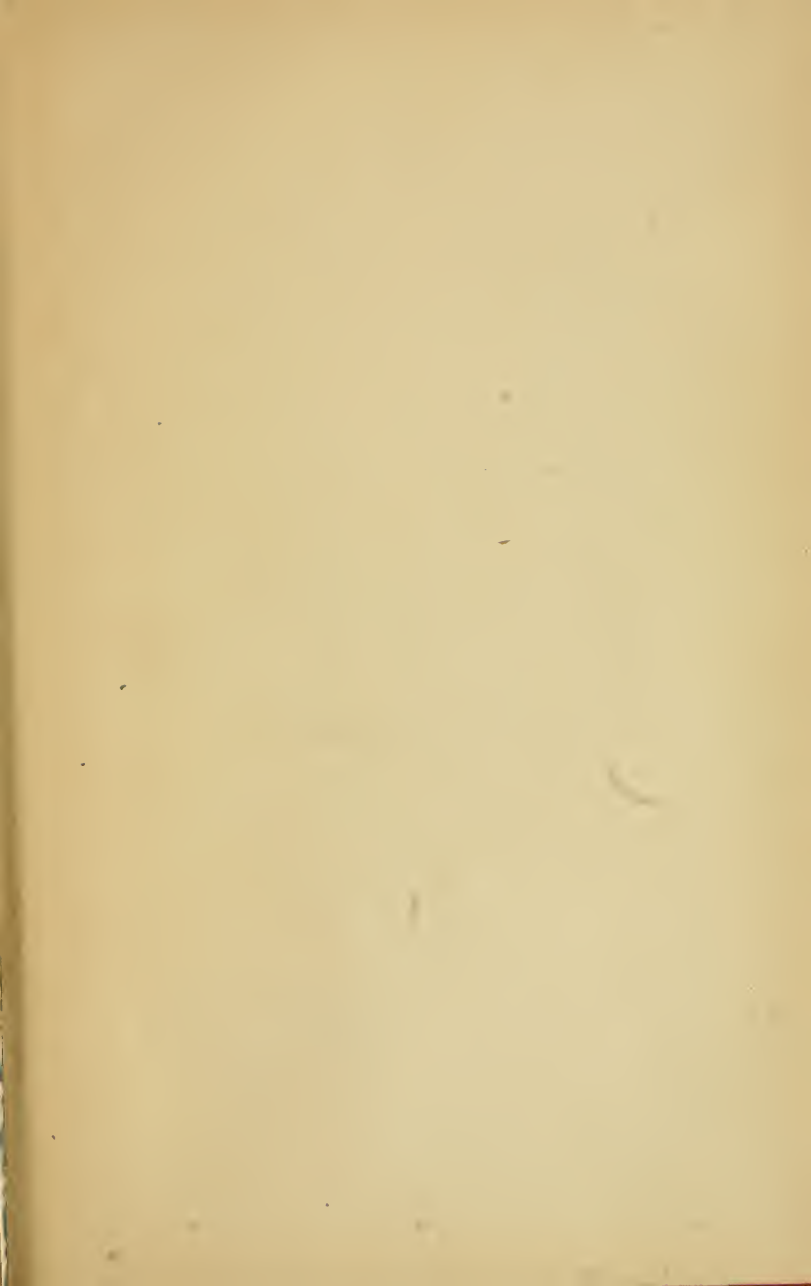
flattery; he was always the same calm, wise, just and single-minded man, pursuing the course which he believed to be right, without fear, or favor, or fanaticism; equally free from the passions which spring from interest and from those that spring from imagination. He was, in the highest sense of the word, a gentleman and a man of honor, and he carried into public life the severest standard of private morals. It was always known by his friends, and it was soon acknowledged by the whole nation and by the English themselves, that in Washington America had found a leader who could be induced by no earthly motive to tell a falsehood, or to break an engagement, or to do any dishonorable act. There is scarcely another instance in history of a man of this moral type, who has reached and maintained the highest position in the convulsions of civil war, and of a great popular agitation. And no fact shows so eminently the high intelligence of the men who managed the American Revolution as their selection of a leader, whose qualities were so much more solid than brilliant, and who was so entirely free from all the characteristics of a demagogue."

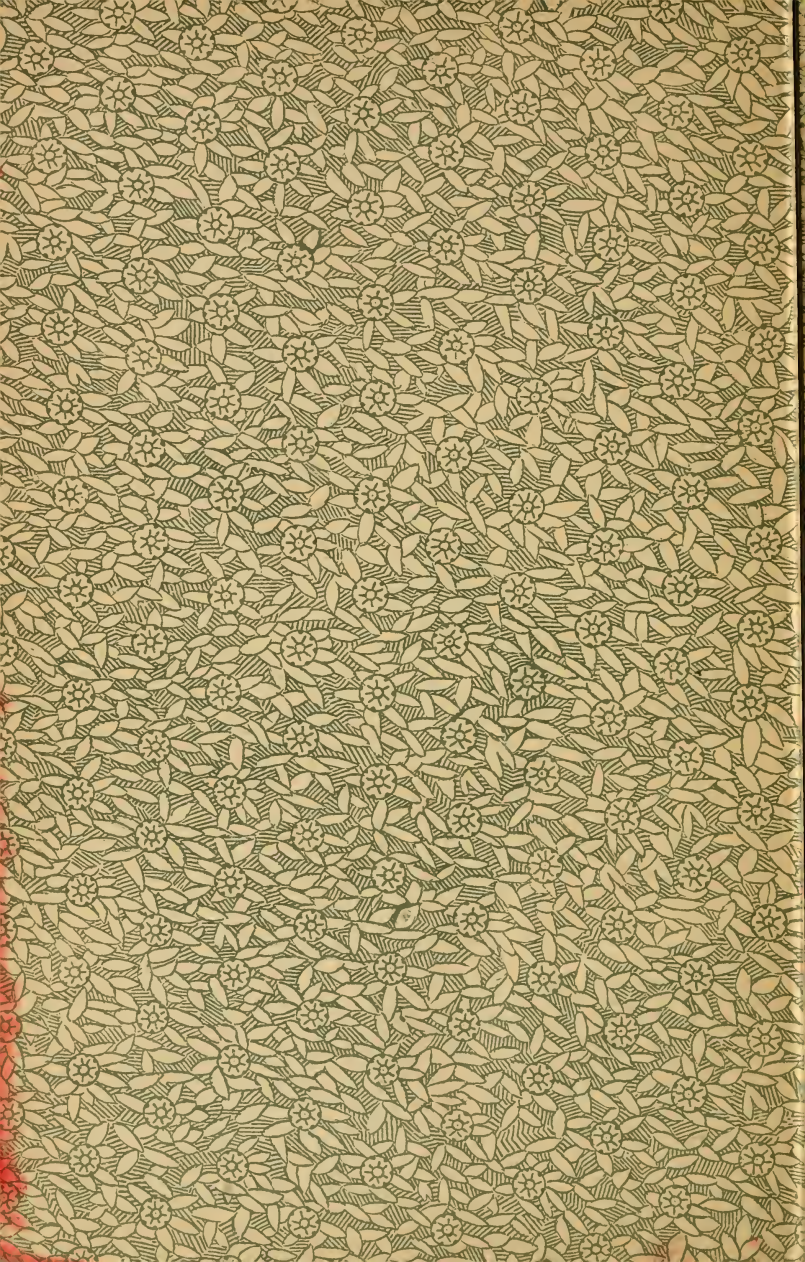
And Everett expresses the universal judgment of all men who have studied the history of Washington's life, and of the times in which he lived, in these notable words: "*He was the greatest of good men, and the best of great men.*"

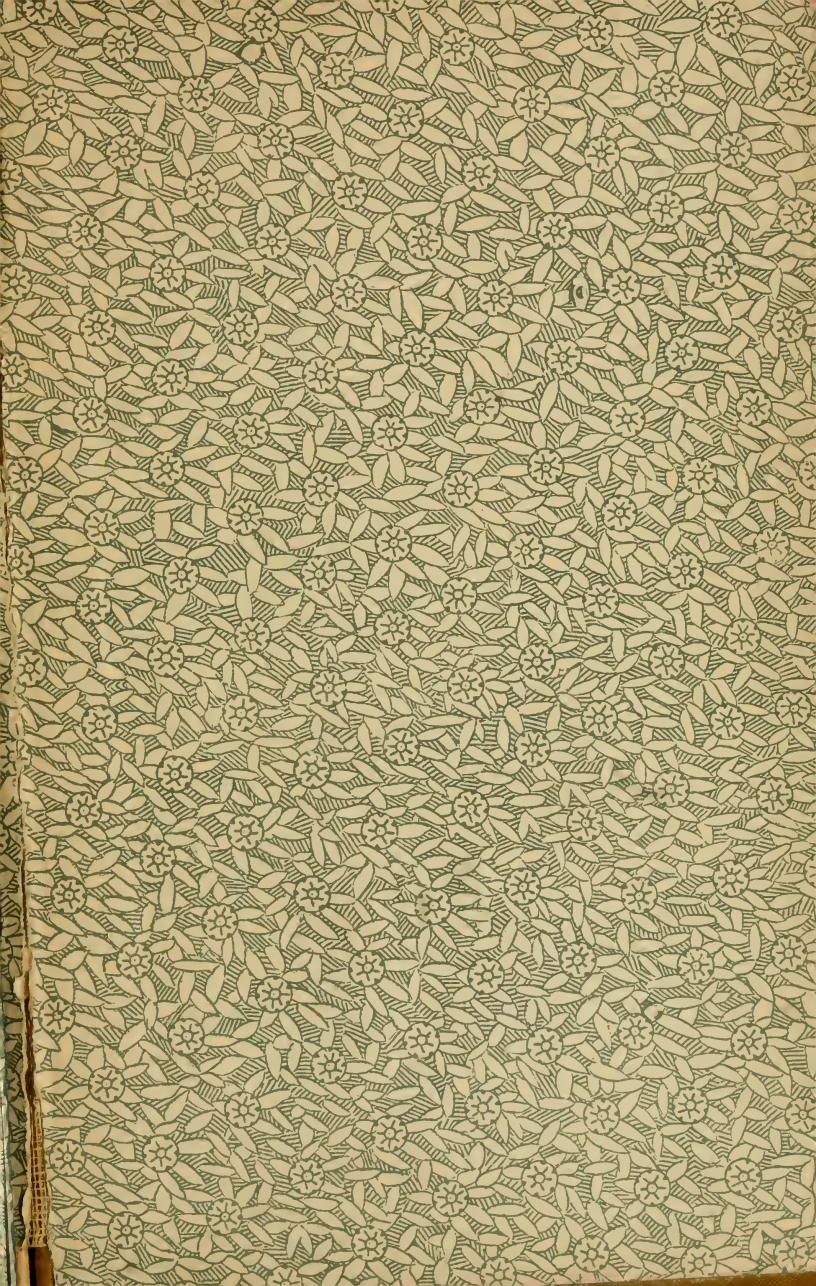












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